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Bonn President shows the flag in Middle East

Nordwest Zeitung

President Richard von Weizsäcker's trip to the Middle is only his second official visit since he took up office last au-

is going to both Jordan and Egypt. in the year, he is scheduled to go Israel.

Ever since the Federal Republic was ded, governments in Bonn have making every effort to strike a bal- in their relations with Israel and Arab world.

The shaping of Bonn's special rel- with Israel has been one of the difficult tasks during this period.

On balance, Bonn's policies in the re- have been successful and this trip von Weizsäcker is an expression of success.

His first host, King Hussein of Jor-

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dan, has visited the Federal Republic of Germany several times.

The relations between Bonn and Cairo are also developing satisfactorily.

Richard von Weizsäcker is not travelling to the Middle East as a mediator or official negotiator.

His state visits to Jordan and Egypt are primarily intended as a sounding-out of the chances the European democracies united in the EC might have of breaking the deadlock in the search for peace in this troubled region.

Many Arab governments make no secret about the fact that they would rather have the Europeans help resolve the problems in the eastern part of the Mediterranean than the nuclear superpowers.

The Mediterranean states France, Italy and Greece are thinking along these lines.

Bonn, however, which is not keen on overtly high-profile foreign policies, cannot go this far.

Of course, the discussions between Herr von Weizsäcker and King Hussein or President Husni Mubarak will centre on issues where mutual interests are involved: disarmament, development policies and the economic ties between the European Community and Arab countries.

As a representative of a country which in its own interests untiringly demands a people's right to self-determination Herr von Weizsäcker realises that he will not be able to by-pass the Palestinian problem.

This is not his intention. Right at the start of his journey, Richard von Weizsäcker said: "All countries have the right of self-determination. At the same time, however, all countries have the right to live within secure borders. Israel cannot be made an exception."

The new president of the Federal Republic is reputed to be an expert in broaching and discussing tricky problems with great diplomatic skill.

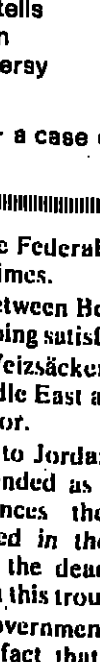
This ability will be of great advantage to him during his Middle East mission.

Franz Fegeler

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 4 February 1985)



Dead Sea meeting: from left, King Hussein, of Jordan, Frau Marianne von Weizsäcker, Queen Nur and Bonn President von Weizsäcker. (Photo: dpa)



Peres welcomes Brandt

Israel's Prime Minister, Shimon Peres (right) welcomes the chairman of the SPD, Willy Brandt, to Tel Aviv. Brandt also met the Foreign Minister, Yitzhak Shamir, and representatives of the Arab occupied territories. (Photo: dpa)

New pattern of terror emerges as industrialist is shot dead

Left-wing terrorist activity in Europe is being stepped up. The assassination of Ernst Zimmermann, 55, the head of West Germany's biggest military engine *manufacturer, shot outside his house in* Munich, follows the killing of René Audran, a French general, in a Paris suburb. The West German Red Army Faction claimed Zimmermann's death and both the RAF and the French Direct Action have jointly claimed Audran's killing. The two groups had previously announced joint plans to hit Nato targets in Western Europe. Another hint that terrorism of the left is organising itself across borders was an attack against a West German air base in which a woman *was injured. A Portuguese group called* FP-25 claimed to have placed the bombs. Mr Zimmermann's firm, Motoren und Turbinen Union GmbH, makes engines for Nato's combat aircraft, the Tornado, and the West German battle tank, the Leopard II. General Audran was killed, said the terrorists, because his role was at the heart of Nato's function.

The murder of West German industrialist Ernst Zimmermann by two Red Army Faction (RAF) killers has destroyed hopes that international terrorism was on the wane.

Now bodyguard protection has been strengthened and precautionary measures stepped up to protect hundreds of politicians, members of the military and industrialists as well as their families.

The background to this new wave of terror is gradually becoming clear; the

Page 18: Terrorist prisoners and their hunger strike; man killed planting bomb.

"Western European guerilla" has reformed. The terrorist strategic plans discovered in Germany and elsewhere, already pointed towards some kind of underground resurgence.

Terrorists from the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Italy and Northern Ireland have joined forces.

Anti-terrorist experts fear that the united strength of terrorist organisations could dangerously increase their striking power.

Although the West German terrorist or-

Continued on page 2

The whole world hailed the election of former opposition leader, Tancredo Neves, as president of Brazil as a further "victory for democracy" in Latin America.

The euphoria is understandable. Up until a few years ago most of Latin America was under military rule; now, most of the directors have ingloriously bowed out.

Leaving aside the countries of the Caribbean, the two "dinosaurs", General Alfredo Stroessner of Paraguay and General Augosto Pinochet of Chile, are the only military rulers still clinging to power.

However, it is too early for prophecies of an unstoppable process of democratisation.

A better word for what is happening in the southern part of the westen hemisphere is "civilianisation".

The preconditions for a sustained democratic development have yet to be created.

For it was economic incompetence rather than the terrible violations of human rights which carried the indignation of the masses too far and forced the military commanders to declare their political bankrupty.

The military are not about to capitulate. This is reflected in the fact that the election in Uruguay and the "designation" of the new president in Brasilia by a carefully picked electoral college (in an effort to prevent any direct election which might have brought a more radical candidate to power) had the character of formalities bearing the unmistakable mark of the military.

How can the rule of law be re-established if, both in Uruguay and Brazil, the supposed advocates thereof have no qualms in accepting a hand-over of power from the perpetrators of abominable crimes against it?

What is more, the terms of the takeover have been clearly laid down; those guilty of the crimes are to be spared and the dominant position of the military guaranteed.

This is an inexcusable act.

The only man to realise that such a transition to "business as usual" encumbers the setting up of constitutional order right from the start is Argentina's president, Raul Alfonsin.

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

South America's democratic trend continues in Brazil

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

He took the appropriate steps: he ordered an investigation into the excess of the security apparatus, demanded that the shocking details of the bestiality of the torturers be made known to the public and, despite strong opposition, tracked down those responsible.

Unfortunately, this remains a unique example of a genuine desire for a real fresh start.

The epoch of repression cannot be shrigged off like a bad dream.

Anyone who tries to do so is shying away from the real roots of the evil, almost supporting the fascist "doctrine of national security".

As in Peru, for example, where the ruling liberal politician, Beaunde Terry, has long since lost control over the situation, unable to prevent his troops from causing havoc at will throughout the land.

As a result thousands of innocent people have disappeared and a situation has arisen in which the government has no control over the action of the country's guerillas.

In Bolivia the socialist Siles Zuazo is losing ground fast in his struggle against left-wing dogmatists, right-wing reactionaries and coup-hungry colonels.

In Colombia there are areas which Nobel prize winner, Garcia Marquez, calls "our Salvador", where big landowners, soldiers and death squadrons still practice the law of the jungle.

The impressive efforts in distant Bogotá by the conservative politician, Belisario Betancur, to reconcile his country's political forces have no influence on this situation.

Democracy in South America? This is not a question which can be answered by the power and propertied elites in the metropolises anyway.

Parlamentarianism, separation of powers, capitalism, communism — to the families of the dying children in the drought regions of North east Brazil, to the starving in the slums or to the farming labourers and tenant farmers these must seem like expressions from some alien planet.

Influential circles inside the Latin American Church have realised that radical social changes are needed to bring about justice.

Many will feel that the formation of hundreds of thousands of "grassroots communities" pursuing the long-term goal of a "comprehensive liberation of man" is an act of illusory idealism.

However, this movement is increasing the awareness of oppression, stimulating self-help and "bottom-up" solidarity.

Perhaps this will some how seeds active reshaping of society than s... cial "restructuring programmes".

In many respects an association ... Reformation comes to mind; at le... Vatican appears to have though... possiblity.

Plenty of parallels could be dra... tween the improverished condi... Latin America today and the con... which led to the outbreak of the P... Wars in Germany five hundred years...

In view of the crushing weight of... legacy President Tancredo Neves ... accept from his predecessors he ... certainly not be thinking in ter... longer-term objectives.

Since 1964 Brazil's external deb... soared from $3.1 billion to the ast... omical figure of $100 billion.

This, together with the 223 per c... inflation rate and the growing ... interest rates, has paralysed the c... try's economy.

It has become all too obvious ... large-scale industrial growth (and ... on credit to boot) has nothing to do ... a broadly-based development policy ... favour of the majority of the popula...

During the past 20 years, mos... political opposition was merci... crushed in order to save the existing ... garchical system.

The middle classes, which ini... backed this development, are now ... impoverished.

Two-thirds of the population of ... world's eight largest industrial n... suffer from malnutrition.

The demands made before the ... easted years of military rule are ju... relevant now as they were in 1964.

Christian S. Kr...

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 28 January ...)

Continued from page 1

ganisation RAF is much weaker than it was in 1977, criminal investigation authorities in Western European capitals regard the formation of international bomb-attack, killer and kidnapping gangs as a serious risk.

The previous generation of RAF terrorists collaborated closely with supporters in the Middle East, Palestinians and the radical states in that region.

Today's RAF, on the other hand, is embedded in a "united Europe of terror".

The new terrorist group has seized millions of marks during various armed hold-ups and has an arsenal of weapons which allows it to carry out individual terrorist murders.

The West German Ministry of the Interior believes that in view of the stepped-up protection of top politicans, officials and industrialists terrorist attacks are more likely to be levelled against a list of second-rank VIPs.

Because of the vast number of potential murder victims at this level full protection cannot of course be guaranteed.

Ernst Zimmermann was on this list.

The RAF and the French left-wing terrorist organisation, Direct Action, have established close links and have synchronised their attacks.

These two groups are regarded as the backbone of Euro-terrorist attacks.

Hans Wuellenweber

(Kieler Nachrichten, 4 February 1985)

The Pope and the world's poor people

This is the 25th time that Pope John Paul II has set off for distant parts.

In his sixth visit to Latin America he will again be doing some ecclesiastical canvassing at breathtaking speed.

The Pope justifies his frequent papal visits by stressing how important it is that Catholics throughout the world feel embraced by one Church.

Newspaper reports on his visits concentrate on the enthusiastic welcome he is given by the masses and the incredible staying power of the protagonist himself.

The messages announced by the Pope have almost become side-issues, albeit assured of a world-wide echo: the fight for peace on earth, for agreement between the superpowers, against the oppression of mankind in East and West, and for a just distribution of the world's resources.

A major question, of course, is how these objectives can be achieved.

During his visit to Venezuela the Pope spoke of the fact that despite the country's enormous riches large sections of the population live in poverty, many in squalor.

However, just as the poor he was addressing, many of whom live in hovels on the edge of the Caracas, began to feel "embraced by one Church" the Pope made it clear what he meant: criticism of society yes, politicisation of the Christian doctrine no; moral rebellion yes, the vision of "liberation on earth" no.

South America's liberation theologians have not managed to convince Rome that the Church only stands a chance if it unambiguously takes up the cause of the poor.

The pontifex announced his favourite message during a family mass held for over a million believers on the plateau of Mantalban.

He preached the rules of marriage to a society in which most of the children are born outside of the family and where dire need and desporation often prevent couples from marrying.

Never before has the head of the church urged his listeners so insistently to be "responsible fathers and mothers" and to carfully choose how many children they have and how often so as to ensure that they need not live in deprivation.

A change in the teachings of the Roman Catholic church?

The Pope made it unmistakably clear that he still abides by the encyclical *humanae vitae* issued by Pope Paul VI, which stipulates that "each marital act of procreation" should not be interfered with in any way.

According to the Pope, therefore, responsible fathers and mothers should not use any form of artificial contraception, let alone think of abortion, during the final years of the 20th century, since "all these methods not approved of by the church are strictly forbidden".

When Pope John Paul II ascended the "Holy See" more than six years ago many believers and non-believers hoped that this man would drag his church out of the thousand-year-old mildew of Italian-style traditionalism and into a world which had long since moved away from the centralist authority of Rome.

Karol Wojtyla's unconventional vitality and dislike of ceremonial appeared to justify expectations. Without a ... and monarchic speeches the P... Pope looked more like a country p... than the King of all priests, the suc... sor of St. Peter or the Vicar of Chris...

Although this Pope has changed ... pal style once and for all he has als... ected pillars to support the institu... of the church, threatened as it wa... collapse.

As if splitting worldly evolutions ... Pope has tried to strenghten Rome's ... sition as the centre of the church; ... new Rome, but the old comma... headquarter in which the voice of ... people elsewhere in the world ... counts in the form of live TV jubila...

Pope John Paul II would like to s... special synod of bishops convene at ... end of this year to commemmorate ... 20th anniversary of the Second Vati... Council.

It is unlikely that the spirit of the ... ies will re-emerge.

This Pope has managed to bring ... erythink that has tried to push its ... forward during the eighties to a st... still.

Horst Schlitt...

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 January ...)

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HOME AFFAIRS

Greens still a party in search of a foreign policy

Süddeutsche Zeitung

When he was asked what the Greens' foreign policy was, Bun-...stag MP Joschka Fischer evaded the ...estion with a sigh and said this was ...the time for such a question.

The fourth party in the Bundestag ...s plenty to say on environmental ...tection; on foreigners living in this ...ntry; and on defence and peace. ...t it is a long way away from forming ...oreign policy platform.

There has been no statement on for...gn policy. No espousal of interna...al human rights. No involvement in ...elopment aid policies or the exten...s of the peace movement as a start...point for an alternative foreign pol...

Otto Schily, former Greens parlia...ntary party spokesman and now a ...ding figure in the Flick investigation ...mmittee, gave a hint of some sort ...en he told a group of Israelis that ...e recent visit to the Middle East by a ...eens delegation was undertaken ...h "too many pre-conceived ideas ...d perhaps without enough sensitivity ...the complicated historical back...round."

Indeed the Greens take part in all ...ndestag debates on foreign affairs. ...y take up positions on the future of ...e European Community, over rural ...elopment in Africa, on Central ...erica or Afghanistan. But a com... denominator in these positions is not in evidence. When Schily travels to Moscow he conducts himself like an experienced diplomat. When Petra Kelly appears on the Red Square she is successful in getting media attention when pictures appear of a "spontaneous" demonstration with posters being unrolled, for example.

It would be interesting to hear Otto Schily and Petra Kelly discussing Greens' foreign policies in public.

Those in the parliamentary party who have given any thought to it say that their policy would have to be "for dialogue and pacifism".

But how would it be operated? With whom would the Greens talk? Peace movements and ecology groups all over the world — as well as representatives of sovereign states, officials, politicians? And how do the Greens feel about secret diplomacy?

The Greens are galled that they were not the first to call an international environmental protection conference. This was done by Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann of all people.

Petra Kelly has stood god-parent to peace movements in Australia and New Zealand, and has often attracted more attention in the media in the United States than many visiting ministers from Bonn.

Satisfaction with this is mixed for many people with slight irritation that all this depends on personalities.

Travels abroad are neither prepared by the parliamentary party nor worked out systematically.

Heinz Suhr, press spokesman since the Greens entered the Bundestag, has more than once tried to get this theme included in the agenda.

But there were always more urgent problems to be solved. He summed up the foreign policy views of the parliamentary party by saying that foreign visits were "just visiting and nothing much came out of the visit".

Testifying to international solidarity has become a rite at party conferences. But international affairs has never been a theme for discussion.

Fixing voters attention on local affairs and the inclination to solve all problems by "de-centralisation" is inimical to foreign policy considerations.

Otto Schily talks as a professional about East-West relationships which creates the suspicion that he has made the necessary adjustments to his attitudes or has already become a professional politician.

Continuity is vital to foreign affairs, a precept that is hard for the Greens to take. It is difficult enough to maintain personal continuity which meetings at all levels have had to struggle with. Attitudes towards foreign affairs will, presumably, rotate with the rotation of Bundestag members.

Plans for an alternative foreign policy in the parliamentary party are being worked out by an international "greens network" together with all disarmament and ecology groups.

Rather than involuntarily follow in the footsteps of the Friedrich Ebert or the Konrad Adenauer foundations, they will bear most of the financial burden themselves, since the Greens in West Germany are rich.

Top of the list of foreign policy interests is the establishment of a Greens contact bureau in Washington, for, as Heinz Stuhr has remarked, policies made in the USA have considerable influence in many areas on the Federal Republic.

Uncertainty over foreign policy connections are reflected in defence policy. The fourth party in the Bundestag demands unilateral disarmament and a new international economic order, all at once, even when only an attitude is called for to the renewal of arms control negotiations in Geneva.

When the parliamentary party discusses the mistakes made in the trip to the Middle East, it will not come round to the view that despite considerable individual effort, foreign policy is a Greens' blind spot.

But a party that does not have a clearly defined foreign policy, particularly a defence policy, is not in a position to join a coalition or govern at federal level.

Udo Bergdoll

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 30 January 1985)

Free Democrats put out report on their arch rivals

DIE WELT

The Free Democrats have issued a report heavily criticising the ...eens.

Several *Land* elections are being ...ld this year and the report is timed to ...y and stave off the march of the ...eens, which is posing a severe threat ...the FDP.

FDP business manager Helmut ...ussmann said when he issued the ...ven-page study that the Greens ...re not prepared to accept total gov...nment responsibility.

They were incapable of constructive ...litical bargaining because, as a res...voir of protest, they were incapable ...developing solutions to the state of ...airs they complained about.

Instead, they lost even more credib...ty by hiding behind "opposition as a ...ole".

The Free Democrats' leadership ...ows that the Liberals are fighting a ...ttle for surivival and are in direct ...mpetition with the Greens for third ...ace in the political party table.

The Greens, says the report, crept ...to politics before anyone was really ...are they were there so there has ...en no chance to have a "systematic ...change of opinion" with them.

Haussmann exhorts the Liberals to ...e the new party earnestly, not only ...their own interests but also for parli...mentary democracy in West Ger...many.

It was time to explain and provide ...formation to the voters, "particularly ...ung voters," This should not be done ...a general way but "showing basic ...ferences and with hard facts."

Haussmann referred to the Greens' ...derstanding of the democratic pro...ss as expressed in concrete terms in ...rty conference decisions on important political areas. He pointed out that their demands for unilateral disarmament and withdrawal from Nato were "dangerous errors".

In many instances they did not offer protection to minorities but called for the domination of the minority point of view.

In the final analysis that would lead to the dictatorship of the minority.

The Greens were far more involved in "embittered power struggles" than the so-called established parties, particularly the way the ecological socialists stand against the radical ecologists.

It seemed as if the third party, the ecologists with liberal views, had perished.

It was no surprise that the original Greens such as Wolf-Dieter Hasenclever of Baden-Württemberg, the former CDU Bundstag member Herbert Gruhl or former General Gert Bastian, had turned their backs on the party or been forced to retreat from it.

According to Haussmann many peace movement groups and people concerned with ecology had noticed that they would be misused by Green Bundestag members "to overcome the system".

The study provided evidence of their "troubled relationship" with parliamentary democracy. The paper pointed out that the Greens had not distanced themselves from the consequences of violence as a means of political arguement.

Despite the fact that they claimed to be against violence they broke the law wilfully and provoked violence.

They were not a dependable political factor in the formulation of democratic political objectives because they dodged decisions, using "the grassroots" as an excuse.

They did not even remain true to their principle of rotating members sitting in the Bundestag. Promises had been broken.

First of all Otto Schily had remained a Bundestag member, because "it suits their political calculations."

Others rotated from one leading appointment to the next: Petra Kelly from the national executive into parliament and Lukas Beckmann from the leadership administration after a token period into the national executive.

Haussmann makes quite clear from the Greens' statements and programmes how difficult and negative their implementation would be for the Federal Republic:

- Economic policies

Rejecting the industrial society and introducing a social market economy via a system of councils would bring about the expropriation and abolition of private ownership in a major way and the collapse of the economic system.

The Greens favoured abandoning international involvement and pulling out of world markets, although almost every third job in the country depended on exports.

- Finance and social affairs policies

The demand to increase taxes at the top of the scale would eventually reduce services, the readiness to take risks and reduce private investment. Similarly the Greens had the impossible idea that people should work less but draw larger pensions.

- Environmental and energy policies

In the matter of exhaust gas limits the Greens would put aside the EC decisions "with a shrug of the shoulders" without taking into consideration the consequences for West German car exports.

Their demand for the instant closing down of all nuclear power stations would cut off energy supplies and bring most industrial production to a standstill. They were also against vital increases in the use of fossil fuels because of environmental pollution.

- Foreign, intra-German and security policies

The FDP report finds that the Greens fundamentally oppose security policies and would solve the problem by simply abandoning security.

They favoured withdrawal from Nato and were against alliance with the USA. The were emphatically against German reunification.

Is the party, now five years old (still) prepared to learn anything? Bundestag member Jürgen Reents answered this question: "Our basic views are not open to change simply because more information is provided or impressions created."

Stefan Heydeck

(Die Welt, Bonn, 25 January 1985)

■ THE SILESIAN CONTROVERSY

Rally slogan, newspaper story revive an old issue

The demands of refugees from the former German territories in Eastern Europe have long been a complicating factor in the Bonn government's policies towards the East Bloc. One of these refugee groups is the Silesian League. It is estimated that of about 13 million Germans driven from Eastern Europe after the war, about two million were from Silesia, now part of Poland. Now the League has really thrown the cat among the pigeons with its latest efforts. First was a row over what motto should be used for the League rally in June. The first suggestion was "Forty years of banishment — Silesia remains ours." This produced howls of protest and reportedly angered Chancellor Kohl, who was due to speak to the League. Now the motto is "Forty years of banishment — Silesia remains our future in a Europe of free people." The next League clanger was a fictional article in *Der Schlesier*, the group's official newspaper, which describes how the West German army moves unopposed through the former eastern territories to reunite the pre-1939 Germany. Then, to add to the fire, the leader of the League, Herbert Hupka, who is also a CDU Member of Parliament in Bonn, said in an open letter that Silesia was not just the home of the Silesians "but the property of all Germans." This sort of refugee group activity gets electric reactions from people such as the Poles because of fears of German revanchism, the wish to return to old borders. The official Bonn position is that there is no intention of trying to return to those borders. In 1970, Bonn signed a treaty with Poland in which it recognised the western Polish border with East Germany as running principally along the Oder and Neisse rivers. This means that Bonn recognises that Silesia is Polish. Hence the almost apoplectic official reaction to the League's activities.

Chancellor Kohl was already angry over the Silesian League motto controversy.

The stalling tactics employed by his CDU party colleague and head of the League, Herbert Hupka, were also pretty hard to swallow.

But the article and commentary published in the latest edition of the weekly magazine *Der Schlesier* (The Silesian), which according to its imprint is the "official organ of the Association of Refugees and Expellees from Silesia, Lower and Upper Silesia", really went too far.

Chancellor Kohl's immediate reaction was to ask Eduard Ackermann, permanent secretary in the Federal Chancellery, to get in touch with Hupka.

However, Hupka's reply was not a clear dissociation from the content of the controversial article.

He merely informed Ackermann that the article did not represent the opinion of the magazine editors.

The organisation's "official organ", he said, means that the League's internal announcements can be published in the paper.

In the eyes of the Federal Chancellery this was not exactly the most appropriate of reactions to the outrageousness of the published article.

It is still not clear how such an article managed to find way into the magazine.

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

The publisher and editor-in-chief of *Der Schlesier*, Hans-Joachim Illgner, could not be reached.

In a second statement in which he clearly dissociated himself from the content of the article Hupka emphasised that the magazine is run independently.

He then announced that he would be discussing the matter with the editor-in-chief.

This delayed reaction, however, was too late; Bonn was already "seething".

The Minister for Intra-German Affairs, Heinrich Windelen, called the magazine a "rabble-rouser" and was prompt to react: he froze the Ministry's annual DM15,000 grant to the magazine.

The parliamentary leader of the SPD, Hans-Jochen Vogel, called upon Chancellor Kohl to settle the matter once and for all and refuse to address the Silesian rally.

The statement issued by Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, probably pointed in the same direction:

"Following the unreasonable demands made of the Chancellor during recent weeks the situation has now become intolerable."

Although he was inwardly "foaming with rage", Chancellor Kohl did not want to go that far.

He is convinced that the overwhelming majority of the Silesians wants the rally to be nothing more than a meeting between friends.

Nonetheless, it looks as if he will have a few words to say to the leaders of the Silesian League in Hanover because of the way they have treated him over recent months. Last summer they invited him to address their rally without informing him of the rally's motto.

In fact, it wasn't even decided upon until autumn: "Forty years banishment — Silesia remains ours".

After the Chancellor found out about the motto in the papers in December he told the League that he could not come to the rally unless the motto was reworded.

The League's committee, however, took its time to react.

The Chancellor for his part did not press for an answer.

In January there was a meeting between Hupka and the Minister in charge of the Chancellor's office, Wolfgang Schäuble.

Hupka promised to discuss the Chancellor's proposals with his organisation's committee, which then convened on 20 January in Königswinter.

Those who now thought that the matter had been clarified were in for a disappointment.

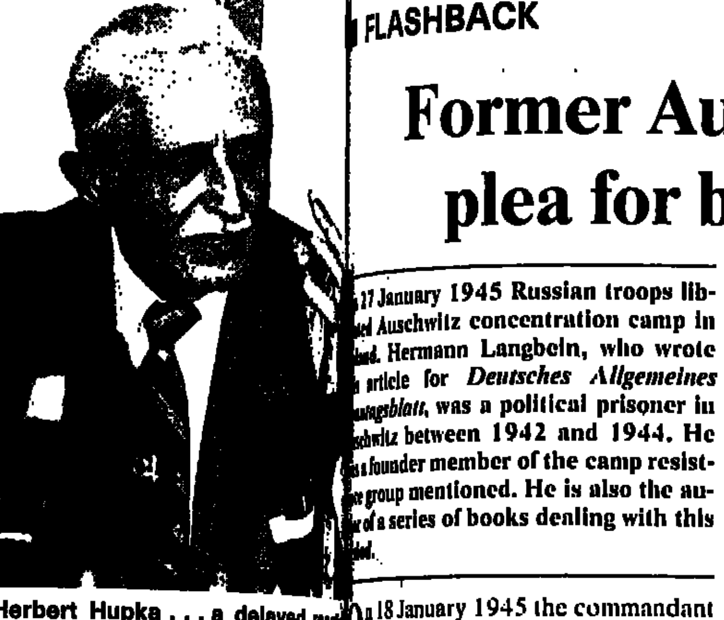
After a half-hour talk between Kohl and Hupka on 21 January there was still no acceptable motto.

The next day the committee announced its revised motto: "Forty years banishment — Silesia remains our future in a Europe of free people".

Kohl accepted the new motto and hoped that this would put an end to the matter. The magazine article has caused a new stir, and the obstinacy of the leaders of the Silesian League so far would suggest that the issue is by no means settled.

Heinz-Peter Finke

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 26 January 1985)



Herbert Hupka . . . a delayed reac (Photo

The league

The *Landsmannschaft Schlesien, Nieder- und Oberschlesien e.V.* (Silesian League) was founded on 28 March 1950 in Bonn.

It regards itself as "the representative body of Silesia, the Silesia and their friends."

the organisation is split up into more than 1,000 regional and local groups and claims to have 300,000 members (17,000 in Bavaria).

Since 1968, the chairman of the League, which has its seat in Haus Schlesien in Königswinter near Bonn, is the CDU member of the Bundestag, Herbert Hupka, who himself was born in Ceylon in 1915.

The Silesian League acknowledges the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany and supports the right of self-determination "for all Germans and thus also East Germans".

Hupka, who is also vice-president of the Association of Expellees, left the SPD in 1972 in protest against the treaties drawn up with Eastern bloc countries.

The two foundations, *Stiftung Kulturwerk Schlesien* in Würzburg and Stiftung Schlesien in Hanover, try to maintain customs and traditions as well as cultural heritage.

The League's youth organisation is called *Schlesische Jugend* and is led by Hartmut Koschyk.

Alongside 60 other regular publications, the official organ of the organisation is the weekly magazine *Der Schlesier* (The Silesian), published in Recklinghausen.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 28 January 1985)

Background

The Silesian League, which claims to have 300,000 members, has done a disservice to the Federal Republic.

The organisation's motto "Silesia remains ours" was the first political mistake.

The commotion this caused was worsened by the article published in the association's magazine *Der Schlesier* describing a fictional invasion by the Bundeswehr of the areas beyond the Oder and Neisse Rivers.

During the entire discussion of these problems the League has behaved as if it were speaking on behalf of the 3.1 million Silesians and their descendants, indeed on behalf of all Germans.

As the chairman of the League, Herbert Hupka, a CDU MP, put it: "Silesia is not just the home of Silesians, but the property of all Germans".

A brief description of Silesia's historical background may help.

During the Migration Period Silesia was inhabited alternately by Germans and Slavs.

Following the departure of the Sillingen Vandals, who had settled near the Zobtenberg and along the Oder River until the 4th century, the region is thought to have remained virtually uninhabited until the 6th century.

The region was then sparsely populated by the Slavs.

The 11th century saw the beginning of the rule of the Polish Piasts in Silesia.

Their disputes over succession, in which the German Emperor Frederick Babarossa was also involved, led to the

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A 20-year-old at centre of the storm

A 20 year-old from the Harz Moun- tains region, Thomas Finke, is at th centre of the Silesian controversy. an article referred to by the head the Silesian League, Herbert Hupka as "insane and atrocious", Finke de- scribes a fictional sweep by the W German army through Eastern Eu rope right up to the Soviet border reunify Germany. "There is no oppo tion, this is not a war", writes Finke his article called "Reflections Abo Germany" published in the magaz *Der Schlesier* (The Silesian). Ask why marching through other countr did not deserve to be called a w Finke replied: "I have no comment make on this point." His silenc however, has not helped him out of predicament: on the evening follow publication, the regional group of t CDU has expelled him from the par

The situation is absurd. A case of ad olescent pipedreaming has top turvied the business of serious polit

A twenty-year-old puts his conf thoughts to paper, a refugees' magaz publishes his jumbled nonsense at j the right time, and Bonn finds itself in state of turmoil. Where are the poli clans who can distinguish between t important and the unimportant?

Admittedly, the content of the artic was pretty nasty, and the question m be asked how somebody could come with this kind of fatuous twaddle.

The expulsion of the author from t CDU and the Silesian youth organi tion was the right thing to do. Anyth else might have been misconstrued tacit approval of the product of a mu dled imagination.

However, the fact that an insig cant political personality announc new and discordant Ostpolitik in a ganisation magazine does not warr such a storm of indignation.

It almost looks as if politicians par cularly enjoy thumping the weak.

For where was the indignation a the criticism when two of the politici representing refugees and expellee Herbert Hupka and Herbert Cz were criticising Bonn's foreign polic

Why does the author of the artic get the thrashing and not those who e abled its publication in the fir place?

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 28 January 198

■ FLASHBACK

Former Auschwitz prisoner asks why plea for bombing raid was ignored

27 January 1945 Russian troops lib- ed Auschwitz concentration camp in nd. Hermann Langbein, who wrote article for *Deutsches Allgemeines ntagsblatt*, was a political prisoner in schwitz between 1942 and 1944. He s a founder member of the camp resist- e group mentioned. He is also the au- r of a series of books dealing with this iod.

On 18 January 1945 the commandant of Auschwitz concentration camp e the order to evacuate in the face of approaching Russian troops.

Those left behind in the camp, prison- s unable to march and the sick, were rated on 27 January.

The concentration camp at Auschwitz s initially just one of the many camps t up by the Nazi regime to disseminate terror.

After Hitler announced the "final solu- n to the Jewish question" and the ca- city of the extermination camps in East and proved inadequate to fulfil this rd" the head of the SS and Gestapo, inrich Himmler, ordered the Auschwitz mmandant Höss to turn the camp into a ure for the implementation of this "final ution".

The effect of *Zyklon B* gas (cyanide- ed poison) had been tested on Russian soners-of-war and sick prisoners.

The Birkenau camp complex was set up with four large-scale crematories. The machinery of death began in spring 1942.

In accordance with a centrally drawn up plan and with organisational perfection the Reich's security headquarters transported Jews from all countries under Hitler's control to Auschwitz.

Here they were subjected to a "selection" procedure: those classed as fit for work were sent as prisoners for "extermination via work" (an expression used during a meeting between Himmler and the Minister of Justice Thierack); the others were escorted to the gas chambers.

Selection and gassing were practised for two-and-a-half years at the Auschwitz camp, which thus became the largest concentration and extermination camp.

In February 1943 gypsies were also classed as "not worthy of life" and suffered the same fate as the Jews.

Auschwitz became the most drastic example of the power ideology can wield, of how a radical theory can divide mankind into members of a master race and subhumans, creating a class of people denied the very right to live and compared only with insects.

The members of the SS responsible for pouring the poison gas into the gas chambers were officially called "disinfectors".

This is perhaps one reason why the subject of Auschwitz was carefully ignored for many years after the Nazi regime had been defeated.

Many of those who had accepted this

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

theory were not willing to accept the horrifying truths of its implementation.

The topic was only officially broached after post-war generations were no longer willing to by-pass the problem.

And ever since, those who would like to acquit the Nazi regime of the historical guilt which clearly distinguishes it from all other fascist and totalitarian systems (in no other system have millions of people been murdered purely on account of their descent) have been questioning the existence of gas chambers in Auschwitz.

Such doubts, however, are futile in view of the overwhelming evidence.

The National Socialists had greater inhibitions when it came to destroying records than with regard to exterminating human beings.

There is therefore plenty of exact documentation of the crimes committed in Auschwitz and in other concentration camps.

The perpetrators and the organisation behind them are named.

Records give an exact account of the extent of the mass murders.

However, few people are aware of the fact that there was an active resistance group among the prisoners in Auschwitz, that human feelings and solidarity survived even in the dark shadow of the crematories and gas chambers.

Furthermore, its fight against the systematic murdering of the Nazi regime was rewarded by a number of successes.

The Nazi concentration camp system, which was developed in the first concentration camp in Dachau and then applied in all the others, set out to rob the prisoners of their sense of personal worth, to break their will power and turn them into tools ready to obey any command.

If an SS man felt like hitting a prisoner, the latter was not even allowed to raise his hand to protect his face; this was regarded as opposition and cruelly punished.

Malnutrion and hard physical labour meant that all many prisoners could think about was to find somethink to eat and avoid being physically mistreated.

The aim of the Nazis was to eliminate any idea of resistance right from the start.

Living conditions in Auschwitz were even worse, since the camp was overshadowed by the crematories.

Again and again prisoners no longer able to work were filtered out and sent to die in the gas chambers.

The fact that a resistance group was formed even in this camp and was able to claim a certain degree of success is astounding and highly commendable.

For it shows that even in extreme situations human feelings cannot be eradicated altogether.

What is more, the group was able to overcome the conflicts between different nationalities, which were deliberately stirred up by the camp supervisors.

The group of leaders in the "combat group Auschwitz", as the resistance group called itself, was made up of different nationalities.

The group was also able to successfully fight against antisemitic tendencies among inmates.

These tendencies were also fanned by the Nazis and were particularly strong among the Poles, often at the expense of their fellow Jewish prisoners.

However, it should also be emphasised that Poles were very active within the combat group.

Resistance activities in the camp were primarily aimed at saving lives.

Of course, the scope for such activities was extremely limited.

It was not easy to avoid being demoralised and to accept the huge risks involved in saving perhaps just a few lives.

However, small successes gave us our strength. It is obvious that those prisoners living in slightly better conditions had the best opportunities of helping their friends, fellow countrymen or comrades or of fightening against the murderous system of the SS.

The camp authorities had deliberately established a hierarchy inside the camp which corresponded to their own racialist way of thinking.

The German prisoners were at the top of the ladder and the Jews at the very bottom. The SS passed on the basic forms of its leadership principles to the prisoners: each work commando was led by an overseer, each dwelling unit had a block elder (block was the smallest organisational unit of the Nazi party based on a block of houses).

These leaders had to obey the orders given by the SS.

How these leaders managed to fulfil the stipulated workload and keep order in their blocks was up to them.

They were given unlimited powers with regard to their own groups.

They were often rewarded if they used physical force to do the job.

If a prisoner died after a beating, the camp authorities turned a blind eye, interested only in a proper report of the death to ensure roll call accuracy.

Prisoners with this kind of leadership responsibility enjoyed special privileges.

As a rule, Germans — and thus Austrians too, who were treated as Germans in the camp — were given these jobs.

If these "prisoner officials" refused to be corrupted, they often found themselves facing the dilemma of either becoming the extended arm of the camp authorities or running the risk of using their privileges on behalf of their fellow prisoners.

If they opted for the latter this was not just for reasons of sympathy for their fellow human beings, but in order to retain their self-respect.

There is no need to explain why there were more acts of resistance during the final months of the concentration camp's existence than during the years in which Hitler's "thousand-year empire" still stood firm.

One of the Auschwitz combat group's major objectives was to inform the rest of the world of the cold-blooded mass murders committed each day in the camp.

Although the existence of the gas chambers were veiled in secrecy, atrocities of this magnitude could not go unnoticed for long.

Too many official departments and military sections were involved: five ministries co-ordinated the organisation of the mass murders; the state railway changed its timetables to transport the prisoners; the gold filling taken from the prisoners' corpses was delivered to the Reichsbank month after month.

Apart from this, the stench of burnt human flesh could often be smelt miles away.

The families of senior members of the SS lived in the vicinity of the camps.

Finally, more and more people came into contact with prisoners during the course of the war. A growing number of

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■ THE WORKFORCE

Long-term unemployment: path towards social disaster

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

One south German newspaper recently reported in an item a mere 15 lines long that the unemployed figure in West Germany had hit 2.3 million.

The report was squashed between two articles carrying large headlines: a winter weather report and an item about a protest against stationing missiles.

This reflects the interest editors believe that can reckon with among their readers. They must have calculated accurately, although unemployment brings with it more hardship than frozen roads and includes more explosive material than some Pershing missiles.

The most terrible aspect of mass unemployment is not of the same order, but it is a fact that the public at large and the political leadership in our country are getting more and more used to unemployment and giving the problem less and less consideration.

They are not thinking how it can be controlled and how its social dangers can be eliminated.

An unheard time-bomb is ticking away whose explosive power could cause the edifice of our social welfare state based on Basic Law to collapse.

The indifference of many politicians and public figures to mass unemployment as a permanent feature of society is incomprehensible.

They betray a sense of concern for a large threatened sector of our society and show a lack of social solidarity. They also display a lack of political discernment. It is foolishness.

This is all the more incomprehensible since not a few people have for years known what would happen. And they have given warnings. They said that unemployment was not a feature of the trade cycle but was based on structural changes in our working world.

The economic upturn we are experiencing is a far cry from what many politicans and leaders of trade and industry expected.

It has, however, meant increased orders for many industries. But it has had practically no effect on unemployment. In certain areas it has got worse.

It is true to say that here and there new job have been created. But rationalisation measures have here and there done away with jobs.

Many politicians and some economic institutes try faith-healing, as if there is another upswing just round the corner that will influence the labour market as well.

The reverse is more likely, particularly so if the current boom in the United States halts and a new recession gets a grip.

But even if that is being too pessimistic, we shall have to live for a long time with unemployment in this country.

Heinrich Franke, president of the Labour Office in Nuremberg and politically in tune with the present Bonn government, explained recently that there was no hope of unemployment declining much before 1990.

Herr Franke, naturally, does not know if there is to be a boom then and where it will come from. One has to be thankful for this unusual sense of reality.

The fact that mass unemployment is pushed to one side by many does not make it less dangerous.

It is loading to a two-tier society the likes of which have not been seen in Germany since the First World War.

The fact that there are people in our society with a lot of money, the jet setters, who lead a lavish existence, is irritation indeed, but this is no more than something taking place on the edges of society. This is easy-come easy-go money.

What is much more of a concern is the diagnosis of a dangerous illness in our society when we have to put up with the fact that, in the long term, some people have work and some do not.

The first have a secure livelihood thanks to their work, while the others have few worldly goods and are sliding down the social scale.

The indifference of politicians makes one think that their memories are short.

International economic crises in the 1930s brought unemployment and with it, massive political radicalisation. Without millions jobless Hitler would never have come to power.

It is true that the welfare state was nowhere near as strong then as it was at the end of the SPD/FDP government in 1982, but the upheavals since are to some extent due to this. It seems that the situation is going to get worse.

There comes a point when every unemployed person loses hope. Some have already reached this point, others are not far distant.

This will come all the more swiftly when it becomes clear that the politicians do not have a long-term answer but are muddling through in the hope that an upswing to improve the employment situation is waiting just round the corner.

When the unemployed begin to realise that the politicians have empty heads as well as empty hands, disillusionment will set in.

Then it will be too late to avoid a two-tier society.

The bomb ticks away. It cannot be disposed of by rhetoric or short-term job creation programmes, but only with a long term change in our working world, a plan revolutionary in its effects.

The discussion should and must be about change. The recognition of the need for change must be there along with the energies to bring this change about

Tiliacus

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 26 January 1985)

The Age of the Computer and the Great Unknown

Technical changes create both anxiety and hope. The present technological revolution is different from industrialisation of the past.

It is also different from technological advances such as, for example, the invention of the steam engine.

Technical change once increased job opportunities. Now it reduces them and creates other problems.

So what does the age of the computer hold for for people and society? The answer is that no one knows.

The new jobs make new demands. They call for specific qualifications.

What will become of those who cannot fill these demands? Will the right to work and to strike be questioned by the computer?

Will legislation and administration in the Federal Republic be able to cope?

These were some of the questions posed at the 15th Bitburg Talks, organised by the law association.

Professor Rüthers from Constance and Georg Leber, former SPD Labour Minister and success ful arbitrator in the engineering workers strike last year, provided the guidelines.

They maintained that:

- People will be continuously replaceable and their services will be devalued.
- Several trade unions are having difficulty maintaining credibility among members. There was also membership conflict over attitudes towards unemployment.
- Lawmakers are making things extremely difficult through a mixture of inability to act and unwillingness to act. This often results in references to courts for clarification, although this is meant to be only a step in case of emergency.
- Rigid labour legislation, regarded in times of full employment as socially progressive, can work against both workers and employers in times of unemployment. The unemployed are hit very hard.

Court cases are becoming constantly more expensive. And they result in: maintaining or increasing unemployment; reducing the competitivity of weak companies and hindering investment.

The leader of the chemical workers' trades union, Hermann Rappe, agrees with employers that technical progress should not and cannot be halted.

Rappe said: "The brakes cannot be applied to technical progress by an international agreement. For this reason West German industry cannot opt out. Industry must be encouraged."

The director of an electronics company described what would be the consequences if West German industry did not go along with technological change.

He said: "Last year there were pocket calculctor sales in the Federal Republic valued in total at DM350 million. This did not involve a single job in West Germany, because this sector is fast asleep."

Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann of the Allensbach public opinion research institute began the Bitburg Talks by saying that the aims of German workers had changed.

According to polls, the number of people who had an ambition to go and achieve something in relation to work dropped from 54 per cent in 1976 to 43 per cent in 1983.

The desire to enjoy life increased from 48 to 57 per cent. Those prepared to "give their all" in a job was 54 per cent in 1967 but only 42 per cent in 1982.

In the United States, on the other hand, it was 68 per cent, Sweden 56 and in Israel 79 per cent.

But a large body of opinion at Bitburg said the polls were out of date.

Delegates to the talks, which are held every January, include leading lawyers (some are senior judges), representatives from industry and, when they accept invitations, trade union officials.

It was not to be expected that the talks would provide answers.

There were this year more lawyers than anyone else. They complained, with some justification, that lawmakers are leaving the development of labour legislation to the judges instead of showing the way clearly (some rulings by the Labour Court have been disallowed by the Constitutional Court).

Professor Rüthers accepts that it is employers/employees who will have to control the consequences of structural change on the labour market, through agreements and worker participation.

They will require much staying power, imagination and agility.

Rudolf Bauer

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 14 January 1985)

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creation of Silesian dukedoms in 1163, for example, Breslau and Oppeln.

These Piast dukes allowed landless farmers and craftsmen from the areas of the Holy Roman Empire to populate this region.

During the centuries which followed, therefore, the Silesian ethnic group became a mixture of Polish Slavs, Thuringians, Franks, Hessians, Palatines, Alemannics, Tirolians, Swiss and Flemings.

Up until the 14th century the Polish kings laid claim to Silesia.

Silesia was then a Bohemian and (from 1526 onwards) a Hapsburg fiefdom.

However, as some of the Piast dukes had bequeathed their territories to the Elector of Brandenburg in the eventually of their lineage dying out (like Prussia Silesia was reformed) the Prussian king, Frederick the Great, marched into Silesia in 1740 to assert his territorial claims against the Hapsburg Empress, Maria Theresia.

Prussia emerged as the victor from these three "Silesian Wars" (1740-42, 1744-45, 1756-63) and advanced to become Austria's major rival power in Europe.

At about the same time the Polish kingdom collapsed under its weak nobility and was annexed by neighbouring states.

During the so-called Polish divisions (between 1772 and 1795) Russia annexed about two-thirds of Polish territory, whereas Prussia and Austria acquired a sixth.

The Polish state re-emerged following the First World War after Russia and the Central European powers had been defeated.

After the Second World War the Polish borders were again realigned following westward territorial expansion by the Soviet Union.

to compensate for the 179,700 sq km Poland lost in the East, 102,800 sq km of East German territory was handed over to the Polish administration.

This area included silesia, Pommernia and the south-western part of East Prussia.

This move triggered a human tragedy. The border realignment meant that those formerly living in Eastern Poland had to resettle in Western Poland, and the Germans were driven out of the former eastern territories of the German Reich.

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 31 January 1985)

■ INDUSTRY

Bavaria flashes to front on a silicon chip

Frankfurter Neue Presse

Bavaria is rapidly overtaking Hamburg and West Berlin as the high-technology centre of West Germany.

So many electronics firms have moved in or set up there that one job in every four in this industry nation-wide is in Bavaria.

In Munich alone, 50,000 of the workforce of 170,000 is in electronics in some way.

The development of Bavaria from an agricultural to an industrial region and one specialising in high technology is connected with a German attempt to compete with the Japanese and the Americans technologically.

Munich has opened a technology centre where young entrepreneurs can set up business with low rents and servicing costs and where they can get advice.

Hans Friedrich, a department head at Siemens, predicts that his firm will have caught up with the Japanese and Americans "by the end of 1986 at the latest."

About 7,000 of the 41,900 engineers and staff working at Siemens in Munich are dealing with silicon chips, the vital element in the third generation of micro-electronics.

Most of the people working in the "think tank" of the country's largest non-state-owned company are young.

The silicon division is in 22 interlocking buildings covering 350,000 square metres. There is a link to the underground railway.

There is the also Siemens' data-processing centre, the largest in Europe, and a data-processing school. A security corps patrols the whole area by bicycle.

At Neu-Perlach, a Munich suburb where more than 100,000 people live and work, the electronic society has begun.

The computer of the 1990s, much cheaper, smaller and faster, is being developed here.

This all stems from the Megabit Memory, developed in the Siemens think tank and to be mass produced at a new factory in Regensburg from 1987.

Opposite Siemens' research centre is its technology centre. From May, producers, distributors and operators of the "Zielgruppe Spitzentechnologie" (High Technology Target Group) will be able to compete with the Japanese and Americans in this sector in a complex made up of eight buildings covering 30,000 square metres.

Quietly, this area around the Bavarian capital has been developed into a mecca of micro-chips.

More and more technicians and managers are being attracted, including technology freaks, speculators and people with utopian ideas.

A Frankfurt industrial consultant said: "The progressive sector of West German industry is finding its way more and more frequently to the south."

Helmut Bettermann, personnel director of Siemen's communications technology division said that there were not enough people with the appropriate qualifications either in the universities or available on the labour market.

Last year the company's research and technology centre in Munich took on 320 qualified trainees (starting salary: DM3,500 a month).

Another 2,800 engineers should be taken on this year.

This financial year, more than DM4 billion will be spent on research and development.

Siemens research boss Karl Heinz Beckurts said that in many sectors the firm is at the top. There was a boom. Evidence of that was the 400 development operations under way.

Other giants in the electro- and electronic industries have also moved to Bavaria, Hitachi, Digital, Sanyo, Murata, Texas Instruments and Fairchild, for example. German computer manufacturer Nixdorf will be open up in Bavaria this year.

Bavaria's nimble-minded economic affairs minister Anton Jaumann said: "The fact that Munich is a long way away from any seaport has had its effect."

He pointed out that Bavaria and Munich, once heavily committed to agriculture, are rapidly becoming industrialised.

Munich was overtaking Hamburg and West Berlin as an industrialised city. In Munich there were 170,000 working people of whom 50,000 were in electronics.

In the past few years in Bavaria alone 10,000 additional jobs have been created in the micro-electronics industry. There are 230,000 people working in the electro industries in Bavaria, top of the list, with 110,000 in the communications sector alone.



The Siemen's complex in Munich, interlocked and sprawling.
(Photo: Siemens. Aerial photo released by Upper Bavarian government permit No. OS 300/9572/83)

A further 20,000 jobs will be added this century.

Munich has allocated DM42 million up until 1988 to promote research into micro-electronics.

Minister Jaumann arranged a study to advise on control and promotion. One finding was that a leading European electronics company proposed investing a huge amount in high technology production plant in Bavaria in a bid to meet the challenge of Japan and America in this decade.

Munich is not only suited to the giants in the industry but also the small firms.

Progress in the world of micro-chips is fairly dependent on small, courageous manufacturers, researchers and businessmen, as in America's Silicon Valley.

For this reason Munich municipality has developed a "Technology Centre" along with the Chamber for Industry and Trade, a 3,000 square metre area on an old factory site where young entrepreneurs involved in the technology of the future can set up in business with favourable rents, servicing and advice.

At the western end of the former site of the international garden show a "research station" has been set up with a computer laboratory and space for scientific work, the whole in the shape of a pentagon.

Erich Häusser, president of the West German patents office, brought back the idea from Japan. He has set up an organisation for joint training, fabrication and innovation which has begun to collect funds so that it can be the germ cell of future technology. Munich has begun to tackle this sector on a wide front.

Minister Jaumann said that "Silicon Bavaria" was not just a slogan "it is fast becoming a reality."

Karl Stankiewitz

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 24 January 1985)

Ideas for the Ruhr 20 years too late

Chambers of commerce and industry in the Ruhr have called for new economic policies for the region. The appeal was made at at meeting attended by 700 in Dortmund.

The chambers pointed out that industrial renewal and restructuring was badly needed. The warning came as the region was getting some bad publicity over a smog alarm declared for several days in January.

But the question is: why have the chambers taken so long to say something about the future of the Ruhr? This is the first time they have been able to agree on anything.

It is a pity they didn't act 20 years ago. Now other areas have taken the initiative.

Every seventh worker in the Ruhr in out of work. There are 254,000 unemployed and 4,318 vacancies (December figures).

Many of the proposals at the meeting sounded familiar. Many were half-baked.

No one expected a patent recipe to cure the ills. The problem is far too complex.

But there is justification in asking why the chambers have taken so long to break their silence and contribute something to the discussion.

They now propose "institutionalised cooperation" between the state, industry and the scientific sector. But has this not existed since there have been chambers?

What should be "institutionalised" it is hard to see.

Electronics and bio-technology should be smartening up the Ruhr's "technological way" — as it has been exaggeratedly named — between Duisburg and Dortmund. This should be West Germany's "high technology valley".

Not only are the blast furnaces and pits there, but for many years important companies in engineering, chemicals and energy have been established there.

They can deploy electronics and robots and have no need to be shy of international competition.

High technology is not a foreign word there. The pre-conditions for high technology production are promising. "High Tech" are magic words that trip lightly off the tongue and any number of documents drawn up by the chambers are devoted to it.

The main concern, however, is with venture capital from banks and insurance companies, to make things easier when setting up a firm. This applies also to the "two or three" industrial areas that should be models of what is wanted.

The youngest child of technology would be welcomed with open arms in the Ruhr. It is a pity that the chambers were not more active in this matter 20 years ago. In the meantime many others have got to the starting post in other regions. Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg can offer attractive jobs.

The Dortmund meeting called for more land to be allocated for industrial development by the government. And it would be a pleasure to see representatives of the state involved in "industrial reconstruction."

The lack of land is allegedly a considerable hindrance. For this reason the state government in Düsseldorf has, over the past five years, paid out DM500 million for 400 hectares of land for industrial development.

The state is also much favoured as a guarantor. The enormous costs of setting up a company should be covered by at least forty per cent by state funds.

The chambers are not particularly keen to hear about new subsidies. But they must have found those who are willing to listen in the government offices in Düsseldorf. The SPD government has pumped an additional DM5 billion into the Ruhr since 1979, with good will and off their own initiative.

Industry and population have accepted this gladly. What effect it has an observer would find hard to discover.

One thing is clear — Düsseldorf is not likely to formulate again a programme of action for the Ruhr.

Leonhard Spielhofer

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 26 January 1985)

■ MOTORING

The proposition: that older drivers are worse at the wheel

Are older motorists a greater danger to other road-users than younger men and women at the wheel? Or does experience offset what may be slower reactions or other physical shortcomings? And when are you old? By the turn of the century one motorist in four will be an "old-timer."

"I never wear a hat while driving," says Hamburg pensioner Wilhelm Klaas. "I don't want to be immediately classified as an old fogey at the wheel."

Young people are to blame for more accidents than old folk, he feels, but when an older person causes an accident someone invariably says: "Isn't it time he (or she) called it a day and gave up driving?"

Herr Klaas is very sensitive about his driving licence, and not without reason. Traffic experts are increasingly feeling that older road-users could prove a growing problem.

It is one that was raised at the 23rd traffic courts conference in Goslar, where one expert suggested that the police, the public prosecutor or the court ought always to inform the authorities when an older person fell foul of the law in connection with a traffic offence.

The authorities ought then to check whether the offender was still physically and mentally fit to hold a licence to drive a car, motorcycle, moped or whatever.

The main reason why this proposition has yet to be put into practice mainly because old age is a difficult concept to legally define.

The medical profession is no help. Some doctors say you're old at 60, others from 65, while Professor Herbert Lewrenz, of Munich, says a specific age is unrealistic:

"You can age over a period of up to 50 years. Some show signs of age in their mid-40s, others not until their mid-90s."

The law as it stands doesn't stipulate an age. The highway code merely refers in general terms to fitness to drive and has called, since the last revision, for consideration for the elderly.

Case law tends to follow Professor Lewrenz's line of argument, ruling that age alone need not mean unfitness to drive.

Taxi drivers in Munich tell the tale of a driver well over 80 who still regularly passes with flying colours the extra tests taxi drivers have to take.

So is the road-user's age (drivers, not pedestrians, of course) irrelevant? Doesn't age really matter?

Or is it merely a subject for jokes like the ones about women drivers? Have you heard the one about the old man who heard a radio warning about a motorist driving on the wrong side of the autobahn and said to his wife: "Only one? There were hundreds of 'em a few minutes ago."?

Yet statistics do indicate that older drivers are more accident-prone than the average. Klaus Lang of the Motor Insurers' Association says motorists over 60 cause 4.5 per cent of accidents, as against an average 3.8 per cent.

But these percentages are based on the three million motorists aged over 60 and not on the mileage they log. The less you drive, the fewer accidents you cause — as a rule.

The findings of a survey commissioned by Volkswagen suggest that two older motorists in three still put in the average 15,000km a year.

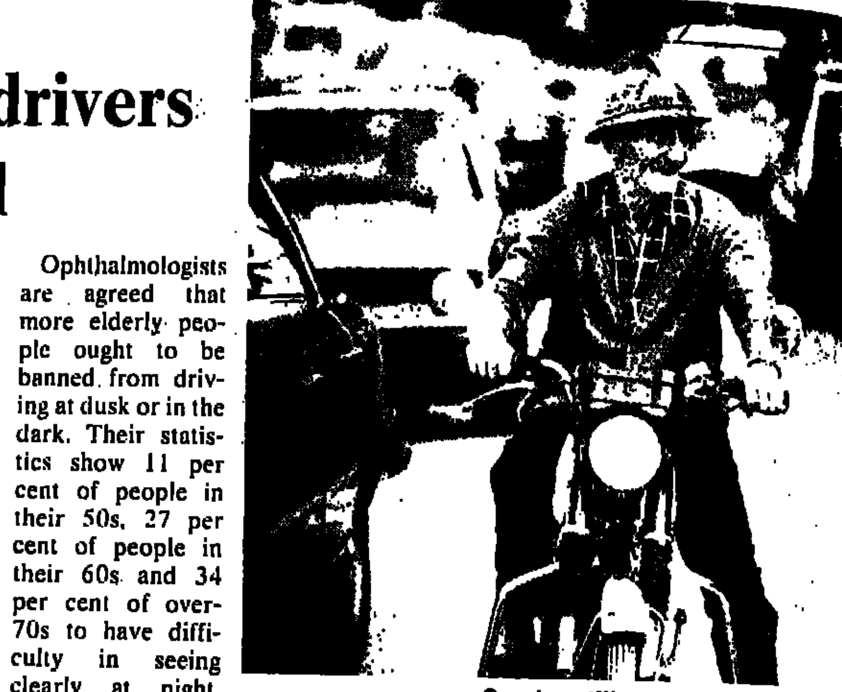
Other figures refer to only 18 per cent of motorists aged 60 to 65, 11 per cent aged 65 to 70 and seven per cent over 70 "putting in regular driving."

So statistics need to be compiled on another basis. The Americans, for instance, base theirs on 100,000 miles logged and have found that women drivers over 75 in particular tend to be increasingly accident-prone.

Figures may vary and statisticians disagree, yet no-one is willing to call it a day. The reason is that by the turn of the century one driver in four in the Federal Republic of Germany will be an "oldtimer."

So the experts are keen to shed light on the details of problems and on what the specialists are pleased to call risk factors.

"People with cardiac pacemakers are an above-average risk to the general public," says Professor Lewrenz. So are people who have to spend regular sessions attached to an artificial kidney or who take pep pills or sedatives. But he doesn't go into further detail.



Can he still see? (Photo: Obertz)

Ophthalmologists are agreed that more elderly people ought to be banned from driving at dusk or in the dark. Their statistics show 11 per cent of people in their 50s, 27 per cent of people in their 60s and 34 per cent of over-70s to have difficulty in seeing clearly at night. This seems to be the point on which the most reliable statistics are available. A Volkswagen survey states that 58 per cent of motorists over 50 are mistakenly convinced their sight is still OK. Similar findings were mentioned in Goslar, where regular sight tests for elderly drivers (aged over 60) were proposed.

This idea prevailed even though others claimed that older drivers were well able to rely on experience and defensive motoring to offset their physical shortcomings.

Experts say there are also typical mistakes old people make, especially when changing lane, turning corners or respecting right of way.

They attribute these mistakes to muscle trouble, older people being less able to turn round — and proverbially stubborn.

"In my view," says lawyer and traffic offence specialist Olaf Kiesewetter, "that isn't true. Motorists young and old make the same mistakes."

He is strictly opposed to only older motorists being required to take compulsory aptitude or fitness tests or to courts being required to refer cases to the administrative authorities.

"That," he says, "is merely going to make older people feel yet more unsure of themselves."

He says older people start to tremble as soon as the police ask how old they are, knowing as they do that driving licences can be confiscated even for minor offences if they then have to prove themselves fit to drive.

"I know from experience of, say, drinking offences how afraid of tests they are," he says. "They are as stiff as ramrods as they fill in questionnaires whereas younger people sit there relaxed and entirely at ease.

"When there is something they don't understand they daren't ask for fear of making fools of themselves. So many of them fail for no real reason."

Herr Kiesewetter says the importance of holding a driving licence ought not to be underestimated. "In retirement the only prestige a pensioner often has is that he can offer to take the wife out for a spin."

So intimidation isn't the right approach. People must be told where they stand so as to ease their fears. Accidents could be reduced in number merely by making older drivers feel less tense at the wheel.

He feels the proposed referral to the administrative authorities is utter nonsense: "That is simply handing the file from someone who is competent to someone who isn't and who goes strictly by the rule book."

Kiesewetter says motoring magazines could do useful work in keeping older drivers in touch with the latest developments in a humane manner by publishing more articles on subjects such as new road signs.

There might indeed be instances in which an elderly person needed to be told it would be better to surrender his or her driving licence, but it must be voluntary and the need must be explained in a friendly manner.

H. H. Holzamer

(Die Welt, Bonn, 28 January 1985)

■ MUSIC

Schumann letters discovery brings mixed feelings

Important documents relating to German art and artists have lately surfaced in Cracow, Poland. The latest find is composer Robert Schumann's correspondence, a collection of 4,700 letters thought lost for decades. But not all Schumann scholars are overjoyed, as this article by Wolfram Goertz for the *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, Cologne, explains.

What musicologists have suspected for 30 years has come true. The mystery of Schumann's *Correspondenz*, a set of 25 files in which the composer kept nearly all the letters he received, has been solved.

There can no longer been the slightest doubt that most of his correspondence, about 4,700 letters, missing since the Second World War, has been found at Cracow University library.

Only last June the specialist quarterly *Die Musikforschung* surmised that the collection was lost for ever. So did a recent book on the composer published by Schott, *Robert Schumann — ein romantisches Erbe in neuer Forschung*.

This assumption has been disproved mainly by a letter penned by Jan Steszewski, head of the Polish Composers' and Musicologists' Association.

"The correspondence between Robert and Clara Schumann," he writes, "is in the 25 volumes (Letters 1-4,700) of the Robert Schumann *Correspondenz* currently at Cracow University library."

The *Correspondenz* is of outstanding importance for any kind of research on the composer. When Schumann writes to Clara that he has just received a letter from Liszt, the critical apparatus must at least summarise the letter's contents to explain the context.

Schumann's correspondents included Chopin, Liszt, Ludwig Börne and Ignaz Moscheles.

So the *Correspondenz* is not just a bibliophile rarity; it is one of the most valuable manuscript oollections in music history.

The tale of how it found its way to Cracow is an adventurous one. It has been known for several years that much of the stock of the Prussian State Library in Berlin was evacuated from Unter den Linden to a Benedictine abbey in Grüssau, Lower Silesia, shortly before the end of the war.

In 1946 these 505 crates, along with treasures from Breslau University library, were taken to Cracow by a convoy of Polish trucks.

This move was probably intended as reparation and compensation for what the Poles had suffered under Nazi occupation.

British musicologists have been particularly persistent in researching in Cracow since the war, and they have been largely responsible for unearthing material thought lost. Nigel Lewis, for instance, tells a fascinating tale in his book *Paperchase — Mozart, Beethoven Bach: the Search for their lost Music*. The Polish authorities in contrast have taken care not to divulge information about the shipment's whereabouts. Until a few years ago they said nothing, and even now they are reluctant to say anything. Who is the documents' rightful owner? That is hard to say. Poland and both German states lay claim to the crates stored at Grüssau.



Have they been snooped? . . . Clara and Robert Schumann. (Photo: His[...])

The material is indispensable for research into other composers too. It consists of 20,000 music manuscripts, including many by Mozart, and work by philosophers Hegel and Schelling and the poet Hölderlin.

Even 40 years after the war's end there seems to be little prospect of governments reaching agreement on who owns what.

Yet if archive stock everywhere had to be catalogued and catalogues published, libraries everywhere might well feel uneasy about much of their most valuable material.

Rumours have long been rife among musicologists that a manuscript catalogue of the music department of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation library in Berlin is not freely available because some manuscripts do not belong to it by right.

Is it true that some scores in Berlin were stolen by the Nazis in occupied France? If it is, then their ownership would be contested in much the same way as that of the manuscripts in Poland is.

West German musicologists have at least been allowed to work in Cracow in recent years.

Some Schumann specialists will not be overjoyed, however. Göttingen musicologist Wolfgang Boetticher, in charge of the new collected edition of Schumann's letters and writings, is probably a case in point.

He has access to Schumann manuscripts in the GDR, where he is on good terms with fellow-experts, but is unlikely ever to be allowed into Poland.

Boetticher worked alongside Herbert Gerigk in wartime Paris as a member of Alfred Rosenberg's staff.

Billig, in his *Alfred Rosenberg dans l'action idéologique, politique et administrative du Reich hitlerien*, published in Paris in 1963, says Boetticher was partly responsible for the confiscation of the musical instrument collections of harpsichord player Wanda Landowska, a Polish Jewess, pianist Vladimir Horowitz and cellist Gregor Piatigorsky.

It should be fairly obvious that someone who, like Boetticher, contributed to an anti-Semitic Encyclopaedia of Jews in Music, published in 1940, and was made a Waffen-SS officer in 1943 c[...] not expect much help from the Poles.

That could be why Boetticher h[...] kept quiet about surmises that [...] *Correspondenz* could be in Cracow [...] said, as he has done more than once [...] recent years, that it has been lost.

Younger Schumann scholars seem [...] have settled for a subtler and more [...] partial view of the composer.

The two Schumann volumes in th[...] Munich *Musik-Konzepte* series d[...] with special aspects of the compose[...] work at a very high level, without ide[...] logical motivation and, above all, wi[...] out what Boetticher calls respect [...] Schumann's genius.

The new annotated edition of th[...] correspondence between Robert a[...] Clara Schumann edited by Eva We[...] sweiler must also be mentioned in th[...] context.

The first of what is planned as thr[...] volumes has just appeared and been de[...] servedly praised for its thoroughnes[...] and scholarship. The publishers a[...] Stroemfeld and Roter Stern of Fran[...] furt and Basle.

The new edition is more than we[...] come, especially as there is still a se[...] ous shortage of sensible editions o[...] Schumann's letters.

It will comprise a little over 500 le[...] ters the composer and his wife wrote [...] each other while courting and as hu[...] band and wife. Boetticher, in his *Robe[...] Schumann in seinen Schriften und Brie[...] en*, published in Berlin in 1942, quot[...] from only 370.

Critics claim Boetticher's Schuma[...] editions are in parts so fragmentary an[...] faulty that the composer seems at tim[...] to be a covert anti-Semite.

Eva Weissweiler is an expert who ha[...] access to the material in Cracow. Sh[...] refers in a footnote to its existence.

Her edition delves into strictly pri[...] ate and personal matters concerni[...] Robert and Clara, and critics have co[...] demned this as disrespectful snoopi[...] in their private lives.

But Schumann research in particula[...] must no longer lay itself open to accu[...] ations of being guided by subjectiv[...] considerations in deciding what to pu[...] blish.

Wolfram Goert[...]
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Colog[...] 24 January 198[...])

▌THE ARTS

Disabled actor tells about his role in a theatre controversy

[...]eatre critics are sharply divided over a play in [...]ich a severely disabled actor plays the part of a [...]eelchair-bound child. The play is George Tabo[...]'s version of Euripides' *Medea*, called simply *M*. [...]ter Radtke played the part of the child of Medea [...] Jason. Georg Hinsel wrote in the *Frankfurter [...]gemeine Zeitung* that Radtke brought to the per[...]mance "not only his ability to act but he was also [...]rt of the team's reality." Rolf Mai, in *tz*, asked: [...]ould he have done this? Should a person who is [...]abled act and confront the audience with the [...]eelchair?" He decided that he should. Gerhard [...]delmaier, in the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, felt that [...]dtke had not made any effect. The young actor, he wrote, had been the victim of a disgraceful publicity stunt. Helmut Schödel took the same view in *Die Zeit*. Radtke's disability was like a "metaphor for misuse, vulgarity and the over-refined." Armin Eichholz in the *Münchner Merkur* regarded the murder of the disabled child as a "stifling bravura solo, a wheelchair drama, something between a Greek puppet show and a holocaust of higher significance." Eva-Elisabeth Fischer wrote in the *Rheinischer Merkur* of "a bewilderment of scenes full of tenderness and love, thanks to Peter Radtke's authentic performance of the disabled child, a far cry from cheap sensationalism." In this article for *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Peter Radtke himself says what he thinks.



Peter Radtke (in front) as the child and Arnulf Schumacher as the father in M. (Photo: Oda Sternberg)

[W]hen George Tabori asked me if I would play the disabled child in [...]s version of Medea *M* I asked him to [gi]ve me time to think about it. Disabled [pe]ople should not allow themselves to [b]e misused as vehicles for abstruse fan[tas]ies. So what was Tabori trying to do?

He was depicting a devoted mother, [w]ho is twice killed by faithless hus[b]ands, by the murder of her own son [an]d by the subsequent falsification of [hi]story.

This is not the place to write about [ri]ghts and wrongs. Certainly Tabori set [h]imself something higher when he made [r]eference to Karl Kerenyi in his new in[ter]pretation, rather than the less con[tro]versial Ranke-Braves.

It was a fact to me that the son in the [fa]mily drama was disabled. Tabori has used the disablement theme in earlier plays. He himself has said that this condition had various meanings. In this special case the explosive power of his interpretation was probably not understood.

From the many years of my own experience of disablement I know what a tragedy it can be in a family to have a disabled child. In the main it is the father who cannot come to terms with the situation, who rejects the child, who abandons the marriage.

For me the disabled person was not an object of display, but it offered me the enormous opportunity to use the theatre to sharpen people's sensibilities.

As in all Tabori productions there was intensive rehearsal. Endlessly the question arose: How far can one go? The expectations of all who took part were high. Is theatre to become what it once was, an experience, a place where catharsis took place, emotional purification. Or should the theatre shut out this challenge? The premiere was revealing. The embarrassed silence after one hundred minutes indicated bewilderment had been aroused by our presentation of a reality. Then came the opinions of the critics.

The first assessment that we saw appeared in this newspaper. The critic explained what we had tried to do, to present reality in art and in this way to give an enhanced appreciation of reality.

The theatre is not "the beautiful, holy world," there for a few aesthetes who buy tickets at cut-throat prices and who will have nothing to do with public subsidies for drama.

The theatre is the place where one meets oneself, just as much so for a member of the audience as for an actor.

Then came the other critics and suddenly we found ourselves confronted by all the questions that Tabori had put to us in our first conversations.

"Do you know what you are doing when you put a cripple on the stage? You will never be forgiven."

There were some scathing criticisms of the piece, mainly concentrating on the sense of unease the critics felt at the presentation of this radical realism.

This raised a few points. The theatre has become a forum for argument, extending far beyond pure artistic expression. The weapons used in the fencing come from aesthetics, the fight itself involves what place is society prepared to concede to the disabled person.

The question asked today is: Should a crippled person play the role of a crippled person on the stage?

Misunderstanding is inherent in the question itself. It is not a matter of a "crippled person" playing "a crippled person", but a disabled "actor" playing a disabled "child".

It goes without saying that disablement is not like a costume that can be hung up in the clockroom, but it is a quality that impresses yet it does not determine anything.

No one had the idea to forbid women from playing the parts of women on the stage. Nevertheless it is not too far off when a man will have to play the part of Iphigenia.

In the minstrel shows at the turn of the century it was an unwritten law that whites played the parts of blacks.

It would be unthinkable today to forbid Sidney Poitier or Grace Bumbry from performing on the stage, just because they are black. Is Ernst Deutsch a bad Nathan just because he is a Jew?

Perhaps people laughed at the production and read in the papers that a disabled person "was the victim of a shameful publicity stunt, as if only disabled people could play disabled people. (Can only the sons of kings play Hamlet, only hunchbacks Richard III or an infanticide Oedipus.) The theatre has great licence, but it cannot do this."

Obviously not only disabled actors should play rolls in which a disablement is a component. The opposing question can then be asked: Why should only the non-disabled be fit for such roles? Must one unconditionally take a thin man when a fat man is needed, a young many who an old man is called for?

The apostles of aesthetics should look at their own aesthetic rules and regulations, namely the question of artistic quality. I myself regard it as misguided to put a disabled person on the stage solely because he or she is disabled. The question should be dramatic quality when this is done, rather than considerations that are foreign to art.

Many representatives of the old school will bring this aesthetic into consideration — that the theatre should only present the beautiful in tragedy, that which is elevated.

This is an understanding of theatre that cannot be disputed — except perhaps by the most powerful plays Shakespeare wrote, or Hauptmann, or in modern times Beckett and Kroetz.

Well-intentioned critics — and there are some — stood to Tabori's defence, but were of the view that the experiment could not be repeated.

The opposite is the case. The battle for equal opportunity, the integration of the disabled into the performing arts, has only just begun.

The attempt would be empty of meaning, an exotic flower that blossomed in the forest of the German theatre, if it were not continued in this, or some other, way.

Peter Radtke
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 12 January 1985)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Pollution simulated in probe into why trees are dying

DIE WELT

Nature is being simulated in a Munich research laboratory as part of efforts to learn more about the reasons why tree deaths have reached epidemic proportions.

Leading scientists agree that the blight which has already affected half the Federal Republic of Germany's forest land is due to atmospheric pollution.

But they have to identify beyond doubt the exact cause.

The wildest speculation has been triggered by the fact that damage occurs on a large scale despite differences in climate and soil.

It also occurs both in areas where the air is clean and in industrial conurbations where it is seriously polluted.

Bavarian Environment Minister Alfred Dick says forest damage is caused by a wide range of factors. The effects of these factors varied widely from one area to another.

All conceivable causes and contributory factors must be investigated, he said, in interdisciplinary research.

These factors are hard to catalogue systematically in nature. They never occur singly; only in changing combinations of varying intensity.

That is why scientists have so far only been able to name groups of factors, such as sulphur dioxide, nitric oxides, ozone, heavy metals, acidity in forest soil, acid fog, extreme weather conditions, insect pests and micro-organisms.

They have not been able to draw up a convincing pattern of cause and effect.

A determined bid to remedy the situation is now being undertaken by simulating forest conditions in a research laboratory.

Part of the aim is to rule out additional and unknown natural influences and ensure that experimental combinations of factors are known and quantifiable.

Work is under way at the Neuherberg, Munich, laboratories of the GSF, a radiation and environmental research institute entrusted last year with coordinating Bavarian research into forest damage.

In newly-established test chambers all kinds of weather can be simulated — from the *Föhn* in Bavaria to a rainy day in the industrial Ruhr.

The chambers were designed and built by a firm in Balingen, Baden-Württemberg. They cost DM8m and are the only ones of their kind in the world.

They are 3.50 by 2.80 metres in size and 2.50 metres tall. Temperatures can be set at from -15° C to 40° C. Humidity can be varied too, just as rain and fog can be simulated.

Wind speeds can be set at up to 70cm per second, with light ranging from glorious sunlight to a cloudy day.

Even sunlight can be exactly simulated, the manufacturers claim, by using a combination of xenon rays and specially-designed metal halogenide burners complete with a sophisticated filter system.

Light can be simulated to up to 130,000 lux, or lumens per square metre, which realistically corresponds to daylight in clean Alpine or coastal air.

The first plants to be used in experiments have been housed in the chambers since the New Year, says GSF's Hans-Dieter Payer. They are four-year-old spruce cuttings uniform in their genetic material.

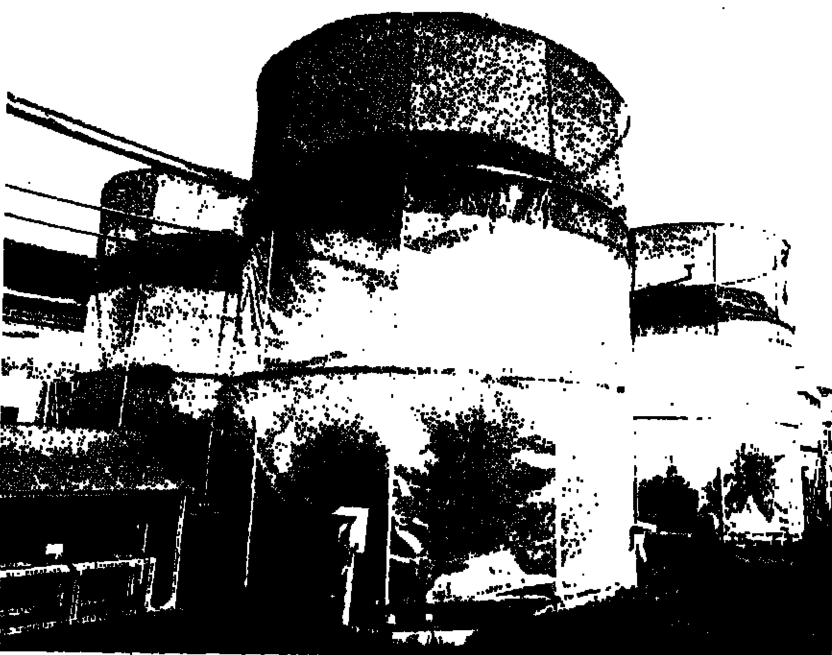
There are eight chambers and a dozen cuttings are to be planted in each. A hard life awaits them.

The experiments start with an admixture of ozone, which in natural conditions is generated from oxygen in strong sunlight at altitudes of between 20 and 40 kilometres.

It is also generated from nitric oxides in vehicle exhaust fumes and from hydrocarbons. Even minute quantities destroy tissue.

The outer skin of plant cells is corroded and the liquid inside them spills out. Chlorophyll is also destroyed, and it plays an important role in feeding plants.

Sensitive plants such as pine trees are damaged when the ozone count exceeds its normal level of between 20 and 30 micrograms per cubic metre. In Munich concentrations of between 40 and 200 micrograms are to be generated.



Search for culprits

Separating the wood from the trees: pollution simulators being operated at Hohenheim University laboratories. These test chambers can simulate conditions such as warm Bavarian winds and industrial rain in the Ruhr to see how trees react.

(Photo: Wilhelm Mierendorf)

These are levels that have been measured in sunny German summers both in clean air and in densely-populated industrial areas.

The effect of ozone is to be tested in combination with other factors, such as acid fog (with a pH value of 3), keen frost and poor and fertilised soils.

Only parts of each plant are to be exposed to these various influences in order to be able to draw comparisons.

Sulphur dioxide is also to be pumped into the test chambers. It heightens the effect of ozone. Sulphur dioxide is generated when fossil fuels are burnt.

In the Federal Republic of Germany alone up to four million tonnes of sulphur dioxide a year are generated in this way. The gas is carried 1,000km and more in the air.

The first series of Munich laboratory tests will take about six months. The aim is to find out more about the combined effects.

In later experiments the influence of fungi, bacteria, fungi and insect pests is to be probed too. The first criticism has already been voiced. Says Professor Franz Nienhaus of Bonn University department of plant diseases:

"Most damage occurs to old trees. How are they going to be studied under laboratory conditions?"

Dankwart Guratzsch

(Die Welt, Bonn, 29 January 1985)

Commercial project management to coordinate conservation

DIE ZEIT

If you ask people what can be done to help prevent more trees deaths, almost all would answer: clean up industrial smoke and car exhausts.

These two measures are already in hand. But on a personal level, what can the individual do? This is a much more difficult question to answer.

Not everyone who lives in the Black Forest, for example, is a card-carrying conservationist with an idea of what could be done (although all are keen to conserve the countryside).

Now the Baden-Württemberg *Land* government is supporting a scheme to use commercial project management to organise small-scale measures.

An initial amount of DM200,000 has been allocated and the project has begun operations from a small office in Freiburg.

The intention is to set up the machinery to coordinate many small environmentally friendly actions which, although they might not amount to much separately, would have a hefty cumulative effect.

Possible examples include overhauling heating systems and banning through traffic on certain streets. Such a programme would also increase public awareness.

Architects of the plan point out that there aren't enough local government officials in a village of 4,000 people for air, soil and water experts to be employed on the spot.

Experts may well be employed at county hall, but how do they respond to the problems of their local government units?

Even if constant and comprehensive lines of communication between local authorities were guaranteed, with ready access to specialised knowledge, how can the man in the street play a part?

Advocates of environmental protection "from the bottom up" face organisational problems. What aims and deadlines are to be set? How is the flow of information to be ensured? How are individual moves to be coordinated? How is everything to be supervised?

In industry there are firms and specialists for these tasks. Industrial companies rely on project control of large projects that are similarly difficult to organise. Why not do the same in environmental protection?

Munich engineer Dieter Halbhuber persuaded first the magazine *Natur*, then the Baden-Württemberg *Land* government this was a good idea.

The magazine published the proposal and Baden-Württemberg is bankrolling what will initially be a three-month introductory phase — and compared with some, indeed many, subsidies DM200,000 is a modest enough investment.

A small office in Freiburg began work on the project a few weeks ago.

Even committed environmentalists are taken aback to begin with by the idea of a commercial project management and consultancy firm going in for environmental protection.

Halbhuber patiently tries to reassure them. "I just suggest methods, not policy. We coordinate horizontally, as it were, because vertical administrative structure is unable to accomplish the task."

Coordination, he says, is the service he provides. Coordinated proposals and ideas that seem to merit being put into practice need converting into laws, decrees and regulations at the various levels of local government.

Halbhuber uses a simile to explain his approach. When rain comes through the roof, he says, the entire roof can be replaced. That is the comprehensive, costly approach.

But damaged or broken tiles and spars can also be replaced. That is the small-scale, less expensive solution that can be undertaken by local authorities or people once they have learnt how to do the work and coordinate activities.

Small-scale individual measures achieve little on their own. They are moves like overhauling the central heating at a local school, banning through traffic on a certain road or resetting traffic lights to make traffic run more smoothly.

The individual has to be approached

Continued on page 13

■ BEHAVIOUR

Fidgety Philip – a case of hyperkinesia

Bremer Nachrichten

Zappelphilipp, or Fidgety Philip, is the subject of a tale by Heinrich Hoffmann, the 19th century Frankfurt doctor and author of *Struwwelpeter*, an illustrated book that has delighted generations of children.

Philip is the epitome of what nowadays is called a hyperkinetic child. He is not just awkward or ill-behaved; he suffers from one of the most serious and widespread behavioural disturbances in childhood.

Between five and 10 per cent of children aged two to five suffer from it, says Dr Burckhard Brocke of the Free University of Berlin's psychology department, writing in the *Zeitschrift für Klinische Psychologie, Psychopathologie und Psychotherapie*.

Boys are affected about three time more often than girls. Hyperkinetic children suffer from an overwhelming urge to move and just can't sit still, especially at school.

They talk incessantly, cannot concentrate and are easily distracted.

They get upset at the slightest unpleasantness and stumble from one emotional extreme to another.

Since they are incapable of controlling their behaviour, they are frequently rash and unreasonable in their reactions and often quarrel with their playmates.

Recent findings have disproved assumptions that all cases of hyperkinesis are caused by the same thing.

It now seems clear that some children suffer from minor brain damage due mainly to some kind of inflammation of the brain while others' brains have probably been overexposed to lead.

This is indicated by high lead counts measured and the laboratory finding that mice exposed to lead show typical signs of hyperkinesis.

Lead-poisoned mice also show signs of the so-called stimulant paradox that occurs among hyperkinetic children.

Their symptoms of hyperkinesis subside when the laboratory animals are given pep pills.

The US research scientist Feingold hit the headlines a while ago when he claimed hyperactivity was an allergic reaction to certain artificial colourings and essences used in food.

But a diet excluding these additives has been found to ease the symptoms of hyperkinesis among only a fraction of patients (between 10 and 25 per cent), especially children under eight.

Little is yet known about the effect of complications before and after birth and the extent to which they trigger hyperkinesis.

Hyperkinetic complaints seem to be frequent in certain families and to recur even when children are brought up by foster-parents.

So they would appear to be hereditary, although nothing definite is yet known about the exact significance of genetical factors.

In some cases fidgeting seems to be triggered by strictly psychological factors, particularly when introverted and unstable children are exposed to severe strain in their family surroundings.

Treatment long consisted mainly of prescribing pep pills, says Dr Brocke in *Praxis der Kinderpsychologie*.

Oddly enough, pep pills do indeed quieten down about 70 per cent of hyperactive children, making them more attentive and better capable of learning.

Since medication as the sole therapy has side-effects and the patient could, for instance, grow used to taking medicines as a means of solving problems, behavioural therapies have lately been devised and proved at least as effective as medication.

They are mainly aimed at systematic, task-related, attentive behaviour. The most striking successes are achieved by combining medication and psychotherapeutic treatment.

Despite improvements in treatment hyperactive children can still be expected to have difficulties at school and show signs of abnormal behaviour until later youth.

This somewhat pessimistic view is outlined by London psychiatrist Geoff Thorley in *Psychological Bulletin*.

In later life, he writes, hyperkinetic children seldom suffer from serious mental illness. But their personalities are long marked by immaturity and impulsive behaviour.

In later youth they often still have trouble following lessons and getting on with others. Some also fall foul of the law.

Praxis Kurier, reporting on a gathering of American paediatricians, says medication alone is in the long term totally unsuitable as a means of treatment.

Deutscher Forschungsdienst

(Bremer Nachrichten, 26 January 1985)

Continued from page 12

Attempts to organise environmental protection from the bottom up are not a substitute for, but an accompaniment to, environmental protection from above.

"You have to find points of access to what makes ecological sense," Halbhuber says. Different approaches will be required in different places, with circumstances differing accordingly.

For lack of comparable ventures it is hard to say whether his project will prove a success. But even failure would be a gain as long as the reasons for failure were ascertained.

In the area where the project is to be undertaken there are 370 potential members, local authorities and bodies prepared to contribute toward the venture, with Baden-Württemberg footing 50 per cent of the bill.

The mere suggestion of taking part has triggered activities, he reports, so the project was under way before it even began.

Since no-one is consciously being ruled out as a collaborator, there is at least a chance of a comprehensive grass-roots network being set up.

Another side-effect could prove equally welcome: the opportunity of making everyone find out who is responsible for what. Failure to realise who is responsible has stymied many a promising start.

Horst Bieber

(Die Zeit, 18 January 1985)

Looking for the formula for bringing up a child

KielerNachrichten

Does a child of pre-school age stand the best chance of developing in the safety and security of its own home? Or is this too narrow a framework?

Are parents, by virtue of their special relationship with the child, the natural and most suitable choice to bring it up, or is it asking too much of them?

If parents want their children to grow up at home they can certainly not both go out to work.

Is a kindergarten upbringing generally better because the work is done by people with professional training?

These and other issues confront young families in both East and West. Psychologists discussed them at this year's Kiel University event.

Maria Tyszkowa, a psychology professor at Poznan University, had no doubts that a complete family was the best environment for a child to develop in.

It was particularly important for babies and toddlers up to the age of three, but mattered for older children too.

Emotional attention was important for small children. Emulating adults or following their leadership was a secondary consideration.

Not only people matter. So does the home. Does the child have access to tools, works of art, equipment? They give it its first impression of the grown-up world.

In Poland women generally go out to work and send their children to kindergarten. Polish child psychologists report negative side-effects.

Threeto seven-year-old children ought not, for instance, to stay in homes all week. Children who only see their parents at the weekend lag behind others of their age in development.

This, Professor Tyszkowa said, could be seen in their language, behaviour at play and overall activity.

She attributed it to the (steadily less frequent) "sterility" of children's homes where the children had too little contact with staff and were not given enough to do.

Children that attend day kindergartens are another matter. Provided they aren't sent there too early they are more advanced in movement, social behaviour and general knowledge than children brought up at home by the time they go to school.

By all accounts there was no real substitute for family upbringing for babies, said Professor Hermann Wegener, a Kiel University medical psychologist.

A child's development up to the age of three decided whether it would later be capable of coping with other people free of anxiety or aggression.

Psychologists change their minds periodically on which adults and how many of them ought to deal with the child.

Professor Wegener felt the tenet of a one-way relationship between active mother and passive child was outdated. On closer scrutiny babies had been found to conduct non-speech dialogues with their mothers even before they could speak a single word.

The baby could be the one to start the exchange, thereby activating and exercising an educational influence on the mother.

Over the last 15 years fathers had often successfully joined in bringing up baby, so it was no longer accurate to talk in terms of a single person to which babies related.

We now knew that fathers were important in a baby's first and second years of life and that babies could relate to more than one person without difficulty.

This break-up of traditional family roles provided convenient options of family upbringing in situations where both parents wanted to work or had no choice but to do so.

There was no proof that fathers were biologically unsuited to looking after babies.

Bringing up one to three-year-old babies in creches could only be an advantage when their families were disrupted.

Sending threeto six-year-olds to kindergarten every morning was, he said, a fine preparation for what awaited them at school.

He was strongly opposed to what he called a growing power of experts over the child. But if its development were in any way disturbed, parents shouldn't hesitate to seek outside advice and assistance.

Jörg Feldner

(Kieler Nachrichten, 23 January 1985)

■ ANNIVERSARIES

Berlin sanctuary for hounded Huguenots

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

When the Huguenots were driven out of Catholic France 300 years ago and there was nowhere for them to go, Berlin came to their rescue.

The Great Elector, Frederick William, opened the gates of the city, which was then an impoverished and thinly populated royal capital of Brandenburg.

The Huguenots snapped up the chance gratefully — after all, on one night alone in 1572, St Bartholomew's Night, 24 August, 20,000 of them had been murdered. Just across the water, the powerful and protestant Britain did nothing to help.

A certain amount of religious tolerance was introduced in France in 1598 by King Henri IV, but on 18 October 1685, this was ended by the Sun King, Louis XIV, in the Revocation Act of Fontainebleau.

The result was renewed persecution. Thousands were thrown into prison, hundreds of churches burnt, schools closed and teachers and ministers arrested.

Those who could get away did. But where to? Just 11 days after the Fontainebleau Act, the Great Elector passed the Potsdam Edict, which opened Brandenburg to the refugees. And they came.

Soon afterwards, Britain, Holland and Switzerland began allowing refugees in as well.

The Huguenots in Berlin quickly became involved in industry, the trades, the arts and in the army.

They got citizenship rights immediately. They were allowed 10 tax-free years, given advances to start up factories in cases where they had previously owned factories.

Landowners and farmers were allocated land and scholars and ministers were granted salaries.

Mockery

The Great Elector greeted each group personally and let them describe their sufferings. Contemporaries recall seeing tears in his eyes.

Ties between Brandenburg and France were broken. The French envoy, Marquis de Rebenac, protested and tried to persuade the Elector that the refugees were troublemakers and criminals.

However, when the famous French Marshal de Schomberg sought asylum in Berlin, Frederick William asked the ambassador with gentle mockery if he had anything more to say.

The refugees settled in a series of settlements such as Magdeburg and Spandau, but the biggest colony was in Berlin. The city then had 11,000 people of whom 4,000 were French refugees.

Adolf Streckfuss wrote in his book covering 500 years of Berlin history that in those days Berliners were wary of outsiders, whom they regarded as intruding competitors. Despite this, they "supported the French as much as the could, took them happily into their homes and demonstrated working people's fraternal love."

Under the Great Elector, Berlin became the worldly, tolerant cosmopolitan city. The tradition is being maintained today by West Berlin.

The city had earlier established some reputation as a haven for refugees. In 1671, another edict allowed in 50 Jewish families which had been harried out of Vienna and Lower Austria by Kaiser Leopold.

They were not confined to ghettoes, as was the case in many European cities but were free to settle where they wanted, although there were restrictions on their trades and businesses.

Then came the first of the Huguenots, in 1672. And there was no end to the stream of refugees arriving because of religious persecution somewhere.

Assimilation was smooth and gave Berlin a reputation as a place where Jew and Gentile could live shoulder to shoulder without problem.

G.H. Wilk

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 20 January 1985)

Stiletto-cracking 2,000-year Augsburg celebration

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

This year, the historic Roman centre of Augsburg, in Bavaria, celebrates its 2,000-year jubilee. The New Year marking the occasion was ushered in by pealing church bells and the raising of 260 flags in all parts of the city.

Augsburg's celebration comes hard on the heels of similar celebrations by Trier and Neuss, which last year were 2,000 years old.

Particular interest in Augsburg's celebrations are being paid by people in Kempten, next door to Augsburg, which is said to be older than Augsburg.

Kemptenites maintain their town must be older because it is further south.

They work on the reasoning that, as the Romans pushed to the north, they must have reached Kempten first.

But in Augsburg, people don't go into arguments about the oldest cities in Germany. And with reason. Historian Wolfgang Zorn says Augsburg does not actually know in what year it was founded.

Irmgard Baur, who is a member of the commission in charge of the celebration's historical aspects, says that in any case, it is assumed that in 15BC, during the campaign against the Celts and the alpine people who eventually became the Swiss, by Kaiser Augustus, Roman soldiers established a settlement at the important strategic point where the Lech and Wertach rivers join.

This was the basis for the later settlement that was to become Augsburg.

An Ingolstadt historian, Dr Marcus Junkelmann, says the Augsburg celebration is an occasion for recalling the Roman march.

Later in the year, he and 10 others will start off from Verona and march towards Augsburg wearing replicas of legionnaire uniforms.

Their chain mail shirts have been welded together from 30,000 iron rings.

The party aims to cover 25 kilometres a day. At camp each evening they wil post sentries and every fourth day will be a rest day.

Just like in the old days, each legionnaire will carry, with supplies and weapons, 40 kilograms.

A television team will accompany them all the way from Rome to Augsburg and compile daily reports.

An exhibition, The Romans in Swabia, is to document legionnaire life in the city: although there is no certificate signifying the founding of the city, there of course are other indications, artifacts and remains of buildings.

There is even a helmet made out of pure gold which makes the exhibition valuable not only for archaeologists.

Augsburg's most valuable birthday present, however, is the restored Golden Hall. It was built in the Middle Ages as a replica of one of the halls in the Dogen Palace in Venice.

Master builder Elias Holl in 16.. built it into the Augsburg town hall.

It was totally burnt out in a bombing raid in 1944 and was rebuilt following a citizens initiative which raised money from individuals, business and the city itself.

When it was finished, three pounds of gold was used to apply a glazing finish to the big hall.

This has drawn criticism from young architects, who say that the city has wasted money and the restoration could have been cheaper.

In any case, the jubilee is not going to be cheap. It is costing 40 million marks. However, the city administration points out that much of the expenditure will be of long-term benefit.

It points to the cleaned Rathaus with its towers and the brand new Rathausplatz with its new paving.

The paving stones were imported especially from Prague. They were selected because they convey a distinctive Middle Ages look.

However, women are already complaining that their stiletto heels are breaking off in the cracks.

Karl Pflugmacher

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 12 January 1985)

Continued from page 5

sub-camps and arms factories employing prisoners were set up near concentration camps, including Auschwitz.

It is therefore blatant self-deception to maintain that no-one could have imagined what was happening behind the electrically-charged barbed wire at Auschwitz.

The "combat group Auschwitz" never ceased trying to inform the rest of the world about the true extent of atrocities.

Of course, the Polish prisoners stood the best chance of smuggling such information out of the camp, since Auschwitz is in Poland.

Polish civilians were often sent to work in the camp area, and although they were not allowed to talk to the prisoners the SS could not prevent information from being passed on.

Any prisoner caught talking to a civilian faced the death penalty.

The Polish civilian workers for their part (or their families) were also threatened, and the SS employed a whole army of informers.

Nonetheless, in 1942 reports of the mass murder in the gas chambers of Auschwitz already reached the town of Krakau, 60 kilometres east of Auschwitz, where a Polish underground organisation had secretly established radio contact with London, the seat of the exile Polish government.

Even members of the SS later confirmed the implications of this broadcast.

On 5 July 1945 SS *Oberscharführer*, Wilhelm Boger, said in a statement that after the news of the mass of deaths in Auschwitz was made known to the world in autumn 1943, there was a sudden reshuffling of top positions both in the camps and in the Gestapo base at Kattowitz.

Camp commandant Höss was replaced, and although his successor Liebenhenschel kept the gas chambers he did try to improve camp conditions.

Reports of the systematic extermination of the Jews were already discussed in the British lower house of parliament in December 1942.

BBC London warned all those "taking part in the planning and execution of the Nazi policy of exterminating the Jews" that they would have to account for their action after the war.

All this was a reaction to the news smuggled out of the Auschwitz camp by the "combat group Auschwitz".

The most extensive extermination operation began on 16 May 1944: 437,000 Jews were deported to Auschwitz from Hungary within seven weeks.

The "combat group" not only informed the world of this planned atrocity, but called upon the military to bomb both the railway lines leading from Hungary to Auschwitz and the crematories in Birkenau so as to at least hinder the move.

It sent out plans of the crematories and stressed that a bombing should be carried out straight away, even if a few prisoners were to lose their lives.

The call was heard, but the bombing did not take place.

Why efforts were not made to stop the "Hungary operation", as the SS called it, was not clear at the time.

In fact, a clear answer has not been given to this very day.

However, a fireman who has not quite done his job properly cannot share the same kind of blame as the fire-raiser.

When commemorating the day on which the heart of the Nazi apparatus of extermination was destroyed and Auschwitz liberated we should not avoid the question of the ideology which led to a situation in which many thousand directly or indirectly took part in mass murder.

Simply because they dismissed a human being's right to live on account of racial descent. Furthermore, we should not ignore the fact that even in Auschwitz it was not possible to totally eradicate human feelings, i.e. humanity.

Many of the prisoners there made great sacrifices to try and put an end to Nazi atrocities.

January 27 should remind the world not to underestimate the power of human beings, not to give up even if the face of seemingly invincible odds.

This day is the first of a series commemmorating event 40 years ago.

It is a day of joy, not only for the survivers of the Nazi concentration camps, but for all those who do not mourn the "Third Reich".

May 8 too is a day of joy; for it was on this day that the sinister power was defeated whose murderous ideology made Auschwitz possible.

Hermann Langbein

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 27 January 1985)

■ TERRORISM

Own goal suspected as explosion dismembers man, injures woman

Hannoversche Allgemeine

One person died in the latest bomb attack by the Red Army Faction. The evidence points to the probability that it was an own goal: Johannes Thimme, who has several convictions in this line, was dismembered in the explosion, which was at a computer centre at Vaihingen, Stuttgart.

His companion, Claudia Wannersdorfer, was seriously injured.

It was the latest in a renewed series of RAF attacks and the first to take casualties.

On 18 December the RAF made an attempt to blow up the Nato officers' training school in Oberammergau.

A silver-grey Audi 80 was driven up to the school by a man in an American uniform.

According to public prosecutor Kurt Rebmann the man parked the car in the parking lot in front of the school and hastily left.

Suspicions were raised both by the way the car was parked and because it bore number plates of an American vehicle that had been stolen in Augsburg a few days before.

A special bomb squad found 28 kilos of explosives and three large camping gas cylinders in the boot.

The explosives were connected to a detonator and timing mechanism on the back seat. Everything pointed to the RAF.

It was similar in most details to the bomb attack on the American airbase at Ramstein in the Palatinate on 31 August 1981.

In July last year the police discovered a terrorists' flat in Frankfurt where drawings of the Oberammergau school were found.

The Americans were alerted and their wariness paid off, possibly saving many lives. In an RAF communique produced quickly afterwards, it was clearly said that the aim was to attack the military directly.

This was the most spectacular terrorist attack in the period before Christmas. There was then a series of other attacks throughout the country. The public prosecutor's office speaks of about 30. In 22 cases a judicial inquiry has been mounted.

The attacks show that the new RAF is now an organisation divided into many cells, a network of extremely mobile groups.

Explosives were placed at the AEG-Kabelwerke in Mülheim on the night of 22/23 December.

An "anti-imperialist front" committed an arson attack on Siemens in Frankfurt just before Christmas, which caused DM15 million damage.

An RAF message after the attack said: "We selected Siemens because in all sectors of its activities it is involved in imperialism . . ."

On Christmas Eve there was a bomb attack on the computer centre in Reutlingen. This was done "by the proletarian opposition to hit out at the imperialist programmes of technical control." At the end were the words "Revolutionary Cells" and "Solidarity in the struggle Gudrun Ensslin".

In the main the RAF attacks, as before, are aimed at American and Nato facilities. One of the RAF communiques said: "No matter if it is war in Nicaragua or a putsch in Turkey, the USA and Nato worldwide stand for murder and barbarity."

It is also obvious that the terrorists want to hit West German data and information centres. This is made clear by the attack at the weekend on a data processing firm in Karlsruhe and the IBM branch in West Berlin. They are waging war against the hated western world and its technology.

The left-wing West Berlin daily *taz* commented that the language, the way of thought of the communiques were military in style.

The series of attacks were conspicuously timed to coincide with the hunger strike of the RAF members under arrest. This hunger strike was started on 4 December and all 34 RAF prisoners are taking part.

They want to improve their prison conditions. More than anything else they want to be recognised as prisoners-of-war according to the Geneva Convention.

The hunger strikers are modelling their protest on the hunger strikes of Irish prisoners in 1981.

Then the IRA prisoners refused food demanding that they should have the status of prisoners-of-war. Prisoners died in this strike, but the IRA did not win this prisoner-of-war status, nor did the Palestinian prisoners in Israel.

There has been little public interest in this hunger strike, unlike that of 1981. But then there was no peace movement. Experts of the radical scene point out that their hunger strikes and attacks are directed at causes the peace movement has made its own — action against Nato facilities and action against re-armament.

It could be that the RAF stragglers could offer the peace movement new perspectives, but it is questionable if it would be possible to radicalise adherents of the peace movement.

According to the security authorities the RAF has been able to recruit more followers to fill the gaps caused by the arrest of seven RAF members last summer. Rebmann estimated that the underground organisation was then made up of 15 members.

It is likely that attacks were planned to coincide with the anniversary of the previous suicides at the Stammheim prison.

In summer investigators came upon documents that led to the suspicion that there was a plan to ambush and shoot the presiding judge, Klaus Knospe, in Stammheim in the case against Christian Klar and Brigitte Mohnhaupt.

After a shoot-out at Deizisau near Esslingen in July last year Manuela Hoppe, believed to be a terrorist, was arrested. She had been spying out the daily routine of Judge Knospe who lived there.

In summer last year the police came upon a mass of material found in a Karlsruhe apartment. One leaflet called upon the RAF to build up an "anti-imperialist front". The maximum propaganda should be squeezed out of the illegal actions of the hard core of the RAF and the legal activities of sympathisers, harmonised with the hunger strike of the RAF members imprisoned.

Since the arrests last summer at least five sympathisers from the RAF underground have emerged, one of them being possibly Claudia Wannersdorfer.

After the arrest of Helmut Pohl, who is now being forcibly fed, and Christa Eckes, police investigators believe that the 40 -year-old Inge Vett, a former kindergarten teacher, and the 25-year-old Hennig Beer are among the top people in the RAF. Both are on the most-wanted list of terrorists.

There is some doubt among specialists that the latest series of attacks are the "death throes" of the terrorist movement, a view taken by many.

Recently the terrorists have been given support by the "Red Cells", a group difficult to define in the general picture of terrorists.

In a strategy paper they have presented they propose to work together with other groups "to destroy imperialism in the main countries".

This is precisely the aim of the RAF and was always so.

Werner Birkenmaier

(Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung, 22 January 1985)

RAF prisoners end their hunger strike

Almost all the 30 Red Army Faction prisoners in various jails in West Germany have ended their hunger strike.

They were seeking preferential treatment and wanted to be kept together in the same prison.

They were also demanding an end to what they called "isolation torture." But their demands were rejected.

A senior official said that now many prisoners who have no connection with the RAF were also seeking similar improved conditions.

What are their prison conditions like?

The words "isolation torture" calls to mind images of dark and dank dungeons where people are chained to walls and have no contact with other prisoners or the outside world.

Chief public prosecutor Kurt Rebmann, however, points out that the RAF prisoners have more contact than other prisoners.

Every person in the Federal Republic receives on average 125 letters a year.

According to the prison authorities at Straubing, RAF member Rolf Heissler has received 1,099 letters in two years. He has written 1,160 letters.

In the same period Günter Sonnenberg, in Bruchsal prison, has received 458 letters and sent 566.

The same is true of the other RAF prisoners. Although all letters are examined there is no limit to the amount of post they can receive or send out.

Normally a prisoner is allowed one thirtyminute visit once a week. RAF prisoners usually are allowed 45 minutes. And they are allowed more visits than laid down in the regulations.

The Baden-Württemberg justice department gave permission for Christian Klar to have 106 visits between 16 November 1982 and 3 December 1984. Brigitte Mohnhaupt has had 80 visits. Visits from lawyers are not included.

In the hunger strike of 1981 the prisoners demanded that they should be imprisoned together in groups of three or four. They now maintain they only discontinued then because the authorities agreed to make concessions.

The authorities say there was no undertaking.

Chief public prosecutor Rebmann did, indeed, refuse to discuss the prisoners' requests under pressure from a hunger strike.

But when the hunger strike did end, talks did take place between Rebmann and officials of the state justice department.

Then three groups of RAF prisoners were formed formed: in Celle with RAF prisoners Folkerts, Taufer, Dellwo and Vogel, in Lübeck with Krabbe, Kuby and Möller, and in West Berlin with Goder, Rollnick and Berberich.

The members of these groups can meet daily without restrictions.

In Celle they have their own recreation room with television, a hotplate and a refrigerator.

The current demands go a little bit further — that all RAF prisoners should be held in one place.

The authorities fear that this would create a "command headquarters in prison".

All RAF prisoners have been offered the normal facilities available to prisoners generally. This includes going with other prisoners for exercise in the prison yard, going to church, watching television with other prisoners and working together. With a few exceptions all have rejected these privileges.

Rebmann said in a statement: "They want to be isolated from other prisoners and to achieve their aim of getting together by referring to 'isolation' and 'torture in prison'." The RAF prisoners want to be treated as people a cut above the other prisoners.

The terrorists are allowed to have their own radios in their cells, but the radios cannot have VHF receiver accessories which could be converted into a transmitter.

There is no television for this reason also. Television is available only in the general recreation room and under the supervision of prison officials. Most of them have record or cassette players.

Generally they are allowed to have four daily newspapers and two magazines, along with twenty books in their cells.

The papers most in demand are *taz*, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, *Konkret* a satirical magazine and *Spiegel*.

Publications from Cuba and Arab countries are also supplied.

Normally prisoners are allowed to have only DM20 a month to spend in the prison shop.

Christian Klar, however, does not have to limit himself in buying cigarettes, coffee and sausages for he is allowed to spend DM300 a month.

Kurt Rebmann has made it quite clear that the RAF prisoners cannot claim that they are on hunger strike on humanitarian grounds. This strike is aimed at mobilising sympathisers and strengthening the revolutionary struggle.

Horst Zimmermann

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 26 January 1985)